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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Volume XXXV; Numbers 1—3

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CONTENTS

	Page.
His Excellency's Speech at the Calcutta University Convocation	1
Mathematics and Agriculture—John Maclean ...	8
Couleur de Rose (*Poem*)—Gwendoline Goodwin ...	16
History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company—Parimal Ray, M.A.	17
Indo-Persian Architecture—P. K. Acharya, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., I.E.S.	22
The Decline of the Early Gupta Empire—H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.	36
Elegy on an Indian Child (*Poem*)—H. W. B. Moreno ...	45
Progress of Banking in India—O. S. Krishnamoorthy ...	49
Popular Control of the Purse—How far it is effective in England, France, U. S. A., and India—A. K. Ghosal, M.A.	55
A Manx Poet—Leland J. Berry	64
The Problem of a Second Chamber in India—Naresh Chandra Ray, M.A.	71
Kṣaṇabhangavāda—Satkari Mookerjee, M.A. ...	83
Love (*Poem*)—Abani Chatterji	99
The Bayeux Tapestry—Arnold C. Baxter	100
Presidenital Speech at the All-India Medical Conference—Dr. B. C. Ray, M.D., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P. ...	108
Now and Ever (*Poem*)—Mohinimohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L, ...	123
Reflections of a Wayfarer—S. Khuda Buksh, M.A., B.C.L., Bar-at-Law	124
The Philosophy of Shelley—Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A., Professor, Calcutta University	133

Page.

REVIEWS :

Provincial Finance in India—B. Ramchandra Rau ... 150
Armaghān-i-Shiraz—M. Kazim Shirazi 151
Kalki-Upanishad—R. S. T. 152

Ourselves :

Our Vice-Chancellor 153
Prof. Syamadas Mukherjee 153
Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar 153
Result of the Preliminary Examination in Law, 1930 ... 154
Result of the M.L. Examination, 1929 154
The Nagarzuna Prize for 1928 154
A New D.Sc. 154

The Annual Convocation Address of the Vice-Chancellor ... 155
Mathematics and Education—John Maclean, M.A. ... 165
Popular Control of the Purse—How far it is effective in England, France, U.S.A. and India—Akshaykumar Ghosal, M.A. 173
Italian Literature—G. Tucci, University of Rome ... 182
History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company—Parimal Ray, M.A. 193
Deceit in Resignation (*Poem*)—Mohinimohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L. 200
King Lear—Katharine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D., Scotland 201
The Future Outlook of the Indian Joint Stock Banks—B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A. 209
The Art of Maeterlinck—Jitendranath Dasgupta, M.A. ... 219
Cupid's Biography—G. Kar, M.A., Ph.D. 227
Music and Musicians—Leland J. Berry 230
Poems of India—Lily S. Anderson 233
The Viceroy's English Home—W. R. Shepherd ... 235
Why America has become so Great?—Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D. 241
Daughter of the Sun (*Poem*)—Cyril Modak 244
The Ninth Section of the Regulating Act of 1773—A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (London) 245
The Tale of Chaddanta (*Poem*)—Marion Isabel Angus ... 251
The Philosophy of Shelley—Prof. Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A. 253

REVIEWS :

The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar—Chintaharan Chakravarti 264
Mysticism in Bhāgavat Gīta—S. M. 265
The Adyar Pamphlets, Nos. 133-135—A. D. 267

Page.

OURSELVES :

I.E. and B.E. Examinations 273
Law Examination Dates 273
Result of the Intermediate Examination in Law, Jan., 1930. 274
Result of the Final B.L. Examination, Jan., 1930 ... 275

The Social Atmosphere of Present Jainism—Dr. Charlotte Krause, Ph.D., Privat docent, Leipzig University ... 275
The Doctrine of the Concrete Universal—Sarojkumar Das, M.A., Ph.D. 287
Thoughts on Progress—Prof. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Lit. 303
The Making of a Nation—G. S. Krishnayya, M.A., Ph.D. 311
History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company—Parimal Ray, M.A. (London) ... 321
Autumn Song (*Poem*)—F. V. W. 325
Indian Nationalism and Bolshevism—Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D. 326
To Daisy (*Poem*)—Cyril Modak 329
The Future Outlook of the Indian Joint Stock Banks—B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A. 330
Ancient Hindu Tradition and the Present Age of the Earth—D. Bhattacharyya 340
The Cydnus (*Poem*)—F. V. W. 348
Poems of India—Lily S. Anderson 349
Introduction to the Study of Indian Currency—A. K. Sarkar, M.A. 351
King Lear—Katharine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D., Aberdeen 356
Ave Post Secula (*Poem*)—Marion Isabel Angus ... 369
Nepal's Relations with the Outer World—Jayantakumar Dasgupta, M.A. 370
Robert Bridges—Prof. Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A. ... 389
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A. (Oxon), B.C.L., Bar.-at-Law 418

REVIEWS :

A History of Indian Taxation—P. Basu 422
Report and Proceedings of the World Economic Conference—B. Ramchandra Rau 425
Srimadbhagavadgita—R. S. T. 427

OURSELVES :

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee: Sixth Anniversary 429
Professor C. V. Raman 432

	Page
Mahendranath Prize and Medal for 1932 ...	432
Stipends and Scholarships for Indian Students ...	433
Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar	434
Professor Ukil's Address in Munich	434
Mr. Gokuldas De	435
Report of the D. P. H. Examination, Part I ...	435
Recognition of a Researcher's Merit ...	436

List of Contributors and their Articles.

	PAGE
Acharya, P.K., M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., I.E.S.	
Indo-Persian Architecture	22
Angus, Marion Isabel	
The Tale of Chaddanta (*Poem*)	251
Ave Post Secula (*Poem*)	369
Banerjee, Jaygopal, M.A.	
The Philosophy of Shelley	133, 253
Robert Bridges	389
Barua, Benimadhab, M.A., D.Lit.	
Thoughts on Progress	303
Baxter, Arnold C.	
The Bayeux Tapestry	100
Bery, Leland J.	
A Manx Poet	64
Music and Musicians	230
Bhattacharyya, D.	
Ancient Hindu Tradition and the Present Age of the Earth	340
Chatterji, Abani.	
Love (*Poem*)	99
Chatterji, Mohinimohan, M.A., B.L.	
Now and Ever (*Poem*)	123
Deceit in Resignation (*Poem*)	200
Das, Taraknath, A.M., Ph.D.	
Why America has become so Great?	241
Indian Nationalism and Bolshevism	326
Das, Sarojkumar, M.A., Ph.D:	
The Doctrine of the Concrete Universal	287
Dasgupta, Jitendranath, M.A.	
The Art of Maeterlinck	219

Page.

Dasgupta, Jayantakumar, M.A.
Nepal's Relations with the Outer World 370

Dasgupta, A.P., M.A., Ph. D.
The Ninth Section of the Regulating Act of 1773 ... 245

F.V.W.
Autumn Song (*Poem*) 325
The Cydnus (*Poem*) 348

Ghosal, A.K., M.A.
Popular Control of the Purse—How far it is effective in England, France, U.S.A., and India ... 55, 173

Goodwin, Gwendoline
Couleur de Rose (*Poem*) 16

Kar, G., M.A., Ph.D.
Cupid's Biography 227

Khuda Bukhsh, S., M.A., B.C.L., Bar.-at-Law
Reflections of a Wayfarer 124
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee 418

Krause, Charlotte, Ph.D., Leipzig
The Social Atmosphere of Present Jainism ... 275

Krishnamoorthy, O.S.
Progress of Banking in India 49

Krishnayya, G.S., M.A., Ph.D.
The Making of a Nation 311

Maclean John, M.A.
Mathematics and Agriculture 8
Mathematics and Education 165

Modak Cyril.
Daughter of the Sun (*Poem*) 244
To Daisy (*Poem*) 329

Mookerjee, Satkari, M.A.
Kṣaṇabhangavāda 83

Moreno, H.W.B.
Elegy on an Indian Child (*Poem*) 45

Rau, B. Ramchandra, M.A.
The Future Outlook of the Indian Joint Stock Banks 209, 330

Ray, Dr. B.C., M.D., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P.
Presidential Speech at the All-India Medical Conference 108

Ray, Nareshchandra, M.A.
The Problem of a Second Chamber in India ... 71

Page.

Ray, Parimal, M.A.:
History of Taxation of Salt under the Rule of the East India Company... ... ... 17, 193, 321
Ray Chaudhuri, H.C., M.A., Ph.D.
The Decline of the Early Gupta Empire 36
Sarkar, A.K., M.A.
Introduction to the Study of Indian Currency ... 351
Shepherd, W.R.
The Viceroy's English Home 235
Strickland Anderson, Lily.
Poems of India 233, 349
Tucci, G., University of Rome
Italian Literature 182
Wilson, Katharine M., M.A., Ph.D., (Scotland)
King Lear 201, 356

Index of Articles.

America has become so great, Why 241
Asutosh Mookerjee, Sir 48
Ave Post Secula (*Poem*) 369
Banking in India, Progress of 49
Bayeux Tapestry, The 100
Bridges, Robert 389
Chaddanta, The Tale of (*Poem*) 251
Concrete Universal, The Doctrine of the 287
Couleur de Rose (*Poem*) 16
Convocation, Calcutta University 1, 155
Cupid's Biography 227
Cydnus, The (*Poem*) 348
Daisy, To (*Poem*) 329
Daughter of the Sun (*Poem*) 244
Deceit in Resignation (*Poem*) 200
Elegy on an Indian Child (*Poem*) 45
Gupta Empire, The Decline of the Early 36
Hindu Tradition and the Present Age of the Earth, Ancient 340
Indian Currency, Introduction to the Study of ... 351
Indian Joint Stock Banks, The Future Outlook of the ... 209, 330
Indo-Persian Architecture 22

	Page.
Italian Literature	182
Jainism, The Social Atmosphere of Present	275
King Lear	201, 356
Kṣaṇabhangavāda	83
Love (*Poem*)	99
Maeterlinck, the Art of	219
Mathematics and Agriculture	3
Mathematics and Education	165
Manx Poet, A	64
Medical Conference, Presidential Speech at the All-India	108
Music and Musicians	230
Nation, The Making of a	311
Nationalism and Bolshevism, Indian	326
Nepal's Relations with the Outer World	370
Now and Ever (*Poem*)	123
Ourselves 153,	273, 429
Poems of India	233, 349
Purse, Popular Control of the	55, 173
Reflections of a Wayfarer	124
Regulating Act of 1773, The Ninth Section of the ...	245
Reviews 150,	264, 422
Second Chamber in India, The Problem of	71
Shelley, The Philosophy of	133, 253
Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company, History of	17, 193
Thoughts on Progress	303
Viceroy's English Home, The	235

, 35 ; No. 1 THIRD SERIES
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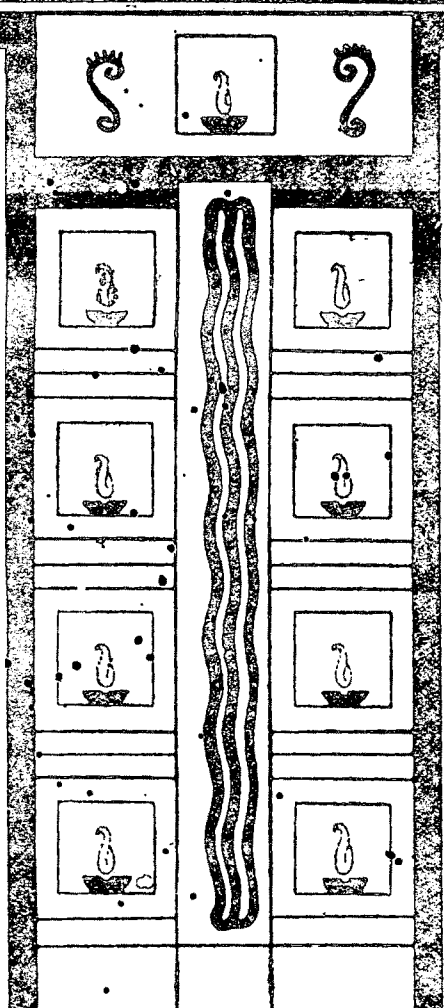

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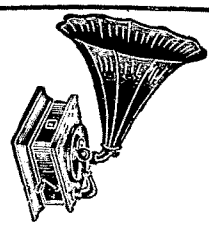

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13. England in Contemporary English Literature—F. V. Wells.
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16. The Unity of Empire Farming—Gilbert B. Hunter.
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18. The Date of Zoroaster—Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.
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23. Milton's 'Satan'—Prof. Arthur Mowat, M.A.
24. The Tyranny of the Body—Terésa Strickland.
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26. The Study of History and Research—Jitendrakumar Chakravarty, M.A.
27. Thomas Hardy—L. F. Stockwell.
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29. True Ideal of a University—Dr. Abhaykumar Guha, M.A., Ph.D.

30. Plato and Plotinus on God—Dr. Abhaykumar Guha, M.A., Ph.D.
31. Old and Mediaeval Bengali Literature—Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.
32. Convocation Address of the University of Mysore—C. R. Reddy, M.A.
33. Address to All-Bengal Students' Conference—Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D. Litt.
34. Concept of Law—Haricharan Biswas.
35. The Character of the Teacher—Principal L. D. Coueslant, B.Sc.
36. The East in English Literatnre—Jayantakumar Dasgupta.
37. The Absolute Self—Wendell Thomas, B.S., M.A., S.T.M.
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39. Some Observations on the High Price of Food Grains in India—Amiyakumar Dasgupta, M.A.
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41. Raja Rammohan Ray—Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose, C.I.E., I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S.
42. The Philosophy of Shelley—by the Editor.
43. Germany, Ten Years After the World War—Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., Munich.
44. Examinations—Principal L. D. Coueslant, B.Sc.
45. Law and Morals—Prof. N. N. Ghose.
46. Law and the Other Sciences—Prof. N. N. Ghose.
47. Early Bank Note Issues and Their Lessons—B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A.
48. The March of the History of Philosophy—Dr. S. K Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.
49. Place of Bradley in British Thought—Dr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A., Ph.D.
50. The Annual Convocation—the Vice-Chancellor.
51. His Excellency's Speech at the Calcutta University Convocation.

52. Early Phases of the History of Independence as it Developed in the British Colonies of North America—Elizabeth S. Kite, Washington.

53. Vocational Instruction—Principal L. D. Coueslant, B.Sc.

. Hi ndu Religious Festivals and their Music—Lily S. Anderson, New York.

55. The Scientific Basis of Monadism—J. K. Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

56. Costs of Vocational Training—Principal L. D. Coueslant, B.Sc. (London).

57. Municipal and Central Government—Naresh Chandra Ray, M.A.

58. Regeneration of Rural Bengal—A. K. Sarkar, M.A.

59. A Single Economic Unit—A. E. Tomlinson, London.

60. Transferability of Occupancy Holdings in Bengal—J. C. Ghosh, London.

61. The Present-Day Dominion Status—Akshay Kumar Ghosal M.A.

62. Educational Administration—Principal L. D. Coueslant, B.Sc. (London).

63. Itihāsa-Purāṇa—Sasibhusan Chaudhuri, M.A.

64. Poetry—Hrishikesh Bhattacharyya, M.A., Lahore.

65. Identification of 'Tikotika Cakama'—Gokuldas De, M.A.

66. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—Dr. Suniikumar Chatterji, M.A., D. Lit.

67. The Ceylon University Commission Report—K. R. Srinivas Iyengar, Ceylon.

68. The Fascist Movement in Italy—Abanibhusan Rudra, M.A.

Need of a School of Foreign Languages in Connection with Calcutta University—Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., Munich.

70. The Republic of China—'China Critic'

71. The Religion of Harmony—Debendranath Sen.

72. Medical Education in Germany.

73. Anglo-American Relations and India—Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., Munich.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

APRIL, 1930.

CONTENTS

	Page.
His Excellency's Speech at the Calcutta University Convocation	1
Mathematics and Agriculture—John Maclean ...	8
Couleur de Rose (*Poem*)—Gwendoline Goodwin ...	16
History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company—Parimal Ray, M.A.	17
Indo-Persian Architecture—P. K. Acharya, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., I.E.S.	22
The Decline of the Early Gupta Empire—H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.	36
Elegy on an Indian Child (*Poem*)—H. W. B. Moreno ...	45
Progress of Banking in India—O. S. Krishnamoorthy ...	49
Popular Control of the Purse—How far it is effective in England, France, U. S. A., and India—A. K. Ghosal	55
A Manx Poet—Leland J. Berry	64
The Problem of a Second Chamber in India—Naresh Chandra Ray, M.A.	71
Kṣaṇabhangavāda—Satkari Mookerjee, M.A. ...	83
Love (*Poem*)—Abani Chatterji	99
The Bayeux Tapestry—Arnold C. Baxter	100
Presidenital Speech at the All-India Medical Conference—Dr. B. C. Ray, M.D., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.P. ...	108

Page.

Now and Ever (*Poem*)—Mohinimohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L, ... 123

Reflections of a Wayfarer—S. Khuda Buksh, M.A., B.C.L., Bar-at-Law 124

The Philosophy of Shelley—Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A., Professor, Calcutta University 133

REVIEWS :

Provincial Finance in India—B. Ramchandra Rau ... 150

Armaghān-i-Shiraz—M. Kazim Shirazi 151

Kalki-Upanishad—R. S. T. 152

Ourselves :

Our Vice-Chancellor 153

Prof. Syamadas Mukherjee 153

Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar 153

Result of the Preliminary Examination in Law, 1930 ... 154

Result of the M.L. Examination, 1929 154

The Nagarzuna Prize for 1928 154

A New D.Sc. 154

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

APRIL, 1930

HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION [1]

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

A pleasant episode in the discharge of my public duties is to preside as Chancellor of this University over its annual Convocation and to hear from the Vice-Chancellor the reports of steady progress made year by year. This occasion gives me the opportunity of meeting both those who have devoted their lives to the sacred task of the advancement of knowledge and its propagation, and those who have finished the first part of their education and stand expectant at the portals of active life.

I thank you for your welcome and assure you that I fully appreciate the honour which, being the Chancellor of this University, confers on me and the responsibility it entails. It is my desire to do everything I can to forward its interest and to secure its progress.

I listened with great pleasure to the Vice-Chancellor's speech and the excellent advice he addressed to those who have just taken their degrees, and I would ask them to accept my congratulations upon their success and my sincere good wishes for their future.

[1] Delivered at the Senate House, February 8, 1930.

I should like to remind you of a truth, which your own later experience may enforce, that the most important subjects are not included in the curriculum and the most significant lessons are learnt outside the class-room. Your education will not have been to your best advantage, if you have not learnt from the world outside as well as from books, if beyond history or mathematics you have not gained some knowledge of the secrets of self-reliance and the art of living in a community. National prosperity depends amongst other things on a sound political system, a strong bond of unity and fellowship, a social order that provides fair opportunities for all and industrial and agricultural development. But the true greatness of a nation comes mainly through the character of its citizens. I trust you will take away from these precincts, as you leave them as students, not only that store of learning which you have gathered by your industry, but also high ideals and resolves and a happy recollection of the days you have spent here.

To the Universities, India must look for leaders—political, social and industrial,—and the task of direction demands with a pre-eminence in knowledge, a pre-eminence in character.

It is often said that the future must settle its own problems and we are apt to wonder what the members of the rising generation will do. What they will do depends upon what they are, and that largely depends upon what we of the older generation make them. In some respects we recognise our responsibility. We lavish our resources on educational work with considerable freedom, yet we sometimes seem to be more concerned with the machinery of education than with its main purpose of shaping character. But the whole responsibility cannot be cast upon educational establishments. The effectiveness of home influence in building sound character is one of the greatest needs to-day not only in India, but throughout the world and parents cannot delegate such tasks to others which are so essentially their own.

The function of a University in the State is a large and important one. It involves the provision of opportunities for, and the encouragement of, research and higher scholarship. I was glad to hear from the Vice-Chancellor of the remarkable achievements of Calcutta scholars in these fields and of the reputation they have won by their contributions to different branches of learning. It involves also the duty of training the minds and drawing out the intellectual faculties of the thousands of students under its charge and of equipping them for their several avocations and professions, so that they may readily find for themselves a place in the social order. But more than all else, it involves the forming of the characters of those who by virtue of their opportunities and qualifications should aspire to be the leaders of the community.

I agree with the Vice-Chancellor that these noble and important tasks cannot be properly fulfilled by a University, unless equipped with liberal resources in men and money. In the past, this University has attracted the generosity of wealthy and discriminating benefactors. We all regret and deplore the recent loss of two such benefactors by the death of Maharajadhiraja Sir Rameshwar Singh, of Darbhanga, and Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar, and I join with you in your expression of sympathy for their families. But in Bengal, where this University is an object of just pride and affection, there must be many others who have the means to minister to its needs and enable it to extend its claim to the gratitude of its alumni and the province they serve.

The appeal made by the Vice-Chancellor for a generous provision for the needs of the University deserves full and sympathetic consideration. As is well known, the Government of Bengal dispose of a revenue, most of the items of which are inelastic and which, in relation to the population, is inadequate to the actual and growing needs of the province. Our resources are comparatively small: they are incapable of large or ready expansion, but from them we have to assume the responsibility

for assisting two Universities, a number of high schools greater than those of any other four provinces together, and nearly 60,000 primary schools. As a result of social and economic conditions, higher education has developed in Bengal more rapidly than primary education and established itself more securely, and it has naturally absorbed a large share of the funds available for education. The interim report of the Committee of the Statutory Commission on educational progress points out that while in Madras, of the total educational expenditure in 1927, only 9·7 per cent. was spent on Universities and colleges, 19·8 on secondary education and 37·7 on primary education, and in Bombay 10·1 on higher education, 19·9 on secondary schools and no less than 52 per cent. on primary schools, the corresponding figures for Bengal were 22·2, 32·3 and 17 per cent. More than half the available money was devoted to mass education in Bombay, while in Bengal we spent more than a fifth on Colleges and Universities and only about a sixth on primary schools. It is true that a large part of the expenditure was met from fees, but this applies equally to primary and higher institutions in this province. In 1929, a little over 25 per cent. of the expenditure of Government on education was spent on Universities and colleges and only 17 per cent. on primary education.

I do not cite these figures and make these comparisons to suggest that the financial administration of the University is extravagant or that the expenditure on higher education should be reduced. We have heard from the Vice-Chancellor's Report that a competent and industrious Committee has lately investigated the organisation and staffing of the Departments of higher study in the University; and I am sure that they have made their recommendations with due regard to economy consistent with efficiency. But these figures do show that in Bengal we are spending far too little on the education of the masses and that the need of primary education for money presents an incontestable claim. The uplift of the masses is vital to the well-

being and development of the country and should be a matter of the deepest interest not only to Government but also to all those who by their education should take an enlightened and liberal view of public affairs.

At the same time, as your Chancellor, I am anxious that the quality of the training imparted by the University should not suffer from lack of funds. Government have to compare and balance the claims of different grades and branches of education; but they will always be responsive to the just demands of an efficient system of higher education. In putting forward our claim to Government, I would suggest that the University will be well advised to go further than present a mere statement that money is required, and to indicate as clearly as possible the activities for which money is required with an explanation of the importance of the claim that each of these activities will have on Government's funds. My experience leads me to believe that this is necessary to compete successfully with the other demands on Government's resources. I would again express the hope that as in the past, the munificence of public-spirited individuals will come to the assistance of an Institution of such national importance and usefulness. The Vice-Chancellor has pointed out that any attempt to increase the income from fees by the admission of large numbers o students must involve a disastrous lowering of standards and with this view I think there is general agreement. But I should like to suggest for your consideration whether it may not be possible to achieve the same result by raising the rate of fees in the Post-Graduate Department. It is right that elementary education should be cheap so as to be available to all, however poor, but a University education, especially a post-graduate course, cannot be a cheap commodity and those who enjoy it may fairly be asked to contribute a reasonable proportion of its cost

There is another matter to which I should like to refer once again, namely, the problem of what is termed 'middle class unemployment.' Every year it becomes more acute and affects

large numbers, but any effective solution still seems far distant. The Universities in India must be concerned at this difficult problem. A system of higher education cannot justify itself if it takes no account of the social and economic structure of the country for whose benefit it exists, or of what is to become of those whom it has educated. It must be a mistake when the whole atmosphere of a high school is one of preparation for the University. It might be better if there was some discriminatory diversion of boys obviously unfitted for higher work of University life to careers better suited to their capacity.

This is evidently a problem that asks for your most serious consideration. It has been suggested that the establishment of a University Employment Bureau, while it cannot provide a radical cure, may yet mitigate the extent of the evil.

Last year I referred to the importance of the University obtaining a suitable University playing field. I understand a search was made for a pitch on the Maidan, but one is not available. I suggest that such a place would not be suitable. The University should have a ground of its own which it can enclose. I should like to see this accomplished before I relinquish my position as Chancellor and I should be ready to give all the assistance I can to any scheme which is put up.

The educational difficulties that face us in Bengal are neither few nor simple. The lack of money; the backwardness of women's education, the wastage in primary schools, the scarcity of trained teachers, the low standards and inadequate equipment of many institutions of all grades, the absence of any considered and wide system of vocational training, the obstacles in the way of fostering a spirit of friendly activity and corporate fellowship in schools and colleges—these are only some of the more important. But there is no need to despair; a clear appreciation of the nature and magnitude of our difficulties must be an incentive to worry out a solution. We have not inherited perfect institutions or ancient traditions, we have had to create them and fashion them suited to the genius of the country.

We must not be daunted by our difficulties : let us take pride in surmounting them. But it will need our wisest thought and by learning even from failures we must ruthlessly discard whatever is ineffective or inferior. It will need courage, patience and good-will, but these will be forthcoming with a determination to consider only the welfare of Bengal and the ability of its educational system to give the best possible to the people.

V—MATHEMATICS AND AGRICULTURE [1]

The Critical Spirit.

In this and the following article several applications to agriculture of elementary mathematical expedients are described. The choice of these has been determined by accident, by convenience, and by the fact that they have not been published as such before. Emphasis has elsewhere been laid on applications to medicine. Neither here nor anywhere is there any suggestion that a complete treatment is given; that would be possible only from a specialist in the subject. Nor is it suggested that mathematics has anything substantial to teach to any of the arts or the sciences. The sole suggestion is that we have entered into a heritage which obscures understanding and clogs progress to an extent that none of us yet appreciates. It is possible to replace this obscurantism by another. What we seek to do is to avoid this, and to find instead the apparatus and the media of representation that best suit the circumstances of our own day.

Routine Work.

The Agricultural Department of a Provincial Government has recently issued a "Bulletin" giving guidance as to the arrangement and the conduct of field experiments. A large section of this publication deals with the statistical manipulation of the results by methods which are mainly elementary. It seems a great waste of the time of any experts that they should have to try to do for their subordinates what could have been done better by mathematical teachers in a general course; for it is unlikely that the inner significance of these methods will be well appreciated when their application is restricted to but one type of problem.

[1] Reprinted from "*The Times of India*" dated 15th and 22nd July, 1929.

This feeling, that there is an unfortunate, if at present necessary, duplication of effort in writing out such a special course in elementary statistics, is intensified by the appearance last year of an interesting book, "Secondary School Examination Statistics," which describes from the inside the machinery of examinations in England. A large part of this volume also is occupied with an exposition of elementary ideas in statistics, covering practically the same ground as the agricultural publication! How much less of a mystery these statistical terms would appear if they were first encountered in a large setting as part of a course in a normal education! The specialised treatment they receive at present makes a progressive American publisher express the reactionary desire for a book which would explain statistics in the everyday language of the business man, doing away with medians, modes and all such terms! The demand for light is a real one; but even an American is led to prefer rushlights.

"*Controlled*" *Experiments.*

This agricultural bulletin, however, raises an even more serious issue, which may recall Mr. Baldwin's chief fear referred to in the first article. In the bulletin repeated reference is made to "the demonstration point of view," and to the need for taking greater precautions in another part of the farm for the sake of "the more discriminating public." This may appear a clear enough demonstration of the truth of that hoary idea, most incisively expressed by the Public Orator of Cambridge University: "He that seeketh findeth"—he finds what he seeks, as we know from the use of quotations and statistics.

The point is perhaps a rather delicate one; for do we not still hear of professors of chemistry who think it legitimate to lend friendly aid to a demonstration experiment that seems not to be behaving properly? Similar justification may apply more cogently to farm experiments; for conservatism and submissiveness rule more firmly among the onlookers there, it is hoped,

than among students of chemistry. The issue becomes serious and difficult for us here in thinking of reform of the teaching of mathematics in that, if anything is sought as a result of a new presentation it is that it should help to waken the critical faculty in students, instead of its being smothered as it generally is at present. It should be made quite impossible for any student to answer as did a graduate in economics recently when an interpretation of certain figures was criticised; he objected that the opinion criticised was that of experts, and was given in a Report of a Royal Commission!

However, the threat to our ideal in discriminating between cultivators is not immediately alarming: The effects of the new power of discrimination may percolate through to the tillers of the soil, and be applied to crops and to experimenters. But by that time a second edition of the Bulletin will have been called for! Mathematicians, even if they do come directly into the arena of economic life and teach what may be directly beneficial, would betray their tradition if they did not stand for explicitness and thoroughness, and for as rigorous thinking as may be possible in practical affairs.

Stock Rearing.

An even more striking example of the part a course in generalised graphs may play in agricultural science comes from England—indeed from Cambridge, the fortress of Mathematics. (But Cambridge has no repute as a stronghold of graphs, and so the circumstances may not be very surprising.) A professor there in discussing three years ago the rearing of farmstock, expressed regret that no graph could be drawn from which might be read off, against the *age* and the *weight* of an animal, the amount of *foodstuffs* it ought to be given. The matter abounds in technicalities, of course; but the nature of the difficulty may be sufficiently realised without diagrams if it is mentioned that the chief complication was that the number giving the weight

was to be raised to the two-thirds power; and so it seemed necessary to give detailed instructions for the calculation of the animal's diet—instructions which included the use of two ordinary graphs. To an outsider the rules to be followed seemed rather elaborate for even an intelligent practical farmer, but they were probably of considerable use to the workers in an experimental station. As a matter of fact, however, the desired graph may be drawn in several different ways and in the nomographic form nothing could be simpler—a thread stretched across the diagram from a mark on one scale corresponding to the *age* of the animal to the mark for its *weight* on a second scale passes through the graduation which shows on a third scale the *amount of food* to be given. (Nomograms continue the all-conquering march indicated for them in "Mathematics and Life." They are now common in wireless journals, they are beginning to appear in textile periodicals, and they are provided for the use of subordinates in the offices of irrigation engineers.) A considerably more complicated graph with the same idea for the growth of the human animal—more complicated in that it takes account of *height* as well as of *weight*—had actually been reproduced from a medical book as the first figure in the text book in which this new course was worked out in 1926. While the principles on which such graphs may be constructed are not generally known, waste through fumbling is inevitable. There can be no question but that an examination of these principles by all students should replace much of the exercise in geometry now in vogue.

VI.—Mathematics and The Sciences.

Diagram-fitting.

In the preceding article medicine and agriculture were seen as in need of exactly the same graphical device. One more instance of the graphing of agricultural data should be given, in

order to exhibit an even more complete contrast between the sciences which may share the benefits of a particular type of graph. It refers to the results of analysis of a certain soil in the C. P. at different depths. One aim of the investigation is to describe how the amount of nitrogenous material in the soil varies from time to time during the year. The diagrams are simple in principle, but are not as easy to describe as a nomogram ; yet it may be possible even without their aid, to indicate the main point. Imagine the sets of six figures each, which at different dates give the quantity of nitrogen in the soil for every six inches down to three feet. In the original diagram these were represented by sets of six horizontal bars one below the other, in positions corresponding to the dates. This gave a very large diagram, which appeared clumsy and far from illuminating to the non-agricultural eye. With attention it was possible, however, to see how in the figure the nitrogen was represented as being washed downwards by monsoon showers. The hint for a better representation came from an investigation in *marine biology*! In a journal devoted to this science the variation from time to time in the number of diatoms at different depths below the surface of a loch in Western Scotland was found represented in a very illuminating way by what may be called *time contours*. Just as on a contour map it is easy to determine the number of feet above sea level corresponding to a given position, so from this diagram could be read the number of diatoms at a given time and for a given depth. This method of representation, applied to the figures for nitrogen in the soil, at once brought out the main facts with great clearness, suggested where there were probably defects in the analysis, and indicated other phenomena which seemed to demand an explanation. This device, it was found later, is much used in meteorology to represent changes at various heights in the atmosphere, and for other similar purposes.

Waste in Physics.

In the recent literature of other sciences instances of wasteful elaboration of truisms, of inept choice of graphs, or of failure to use appropriate devices are not infrequent. In a most excellent book on Biophysics, republished this year, a whole page is given to a graph for converting values of *pH* into concentrations of hydrogen ions. The graph is apparently felt to be clumsy ; for the author makes the suggestion that it should be redrawn on semi-logarithmic paper (which, by the way, cannot be purchased in Bombay !). But the result could be attained more easily and effectively by merely drawing the two scales on either side of one line, thus also effecting a considerable saving of space. In the same book near the beginning is given quite dogmatically a series of ten statements about the energy values of foods. These are the same as are shown much more clearly and more fully in the scalene triangular diagram described in the seventh of the " Mathematics and Life " articles. How much better had been the foothold of the student at the commencement of his struggle with biophysics, had it been possible for him to refer, without laboured geometrical explanation to a comprehensive summary of basal facts such as this graph gives !

Even in Physics, the connection of which with mathematical modes of expression is so intimate, instances of misfit and of waste may be found. For the latter we turn to a journal of the very highest standing where in an investigation into terrestrial magnetism it seems to be assumed that physicists are ignorant of the most elementary ideas of statistics. This paper itself is noteworthy as a specimen of lucid compression, due to the standardising of a system of symbols ; but much of the advantage of this is lost through failure to use the short cuts that have been standardised in statistical theory.

Efficiency in Economics.

To illustrate how unsatisfactory is the use sometimes made of mathematics in Psychology reference may be made to a journal issued from Cambridge, on one page of which is given what can be described; only with the greatest charity, as anything else than mathematical jargon. Sometimes there are signs in Economics as well that editors treat mathematical symbols used by their contributors as outside their purview. As regards loss due to the economist not seeking in a reasonable way the help of mathematics, we must let the expert speak. He compares the two main lines of development of mathematical economics, *viz.*, economic statistics, and theoretical work on index numbers, interest rates, currency and the price level, etc., with laboratory experiment and mathematical physics respectively, which must progress side by side. He then adds: "Incidentally this trend in economics is demanding more and earlier mathematics. The prospective economist who is not familiar with calculus before his second year is now at a disadvantage. Both in economic theory and in statistics *the rate of learning* could be *quadrupled* if all the students in the class could handle calculus, if texts were available assuming this condition, and, if the instructors were themselves able to take advantage of the situation. The economist has small use for conic sections or for drill in solving triangles, but he does need calculus...The graduate student who now so commonly turns aside from the subject of his choice to struggle with elementary mathematics is probably acting wisely, but the diversion of attention from his main interest must make the results less valuable than if his mathematics were already well enough consolidated to allow him to go straight ahead."

The Dawning?

It is more cheering to turn to the other side of the picture. A comprehensive review of Prof. Pigou's "Industrial Fluctuations" provided an opportunity to test how far the course of

elementary graphs and statistics here proposed might meet the demands of the modern student of economics. The reviewer, Sir Josiah Stamp, pointed out that only a modest use was made of Cambridge analytical methods. The mathematical ideas of importance for the future were instanced as amplitude, correlation, lag, ratio of dispersion, fullness of swing, concomitant variation, elimination of constant trend. All of these were found to have been considered in the scheme proposed though without reference to their applications to economics. This is as it must be, for the fundamental definitions of economics are too complex to be utilised at so early a stage. It may not be quite out of place to recall the attention of teachers of economics to the stages, described in the same place, by which students may be expected to attain a scientific point of view in economics—preparation, incubation, illumination, verification. Can they be related to the four years of College life? Certainly here we are concerned only with "preparation."

As to chemistry, we merely note how in Mellor's great *Treatise on Inorganic Chemistry* it has been thought desirable to insert at the beginning of each volume, from Vol. III onwards, an explanation of the use of triangular graphs; but no hint is given of the adaptability of this device which was described in "Mathematics and Life."

The number of ways in which mathematics is used in current scientific literature is most certainly increasing, and there are signs that the time is not distant when the most common devices will be systematised and made available for workers in all fields, *e.g.*, the charts at the end of Lipka's "Graphical and Mechanical Computation" should be known to others than engineers. There are splendid examples already, such as A. V. Hill's lectures on our muscular and nervous systems called "Living Machinery," where graphs are used in such a way as to open vistas along the new ways in which we are beginning to see the common things around us. There would be

clear gain in training the eyes of young students to gaze along these vistas, and later they may find themselves able to scan broader prospects in which the mathematical guiding marks have been lost in a richer interest.

JOHN MACLEAN

COULEUR DE ROSE ?

She is like wind swirling through an unfettered keyhole.
She is like the gold of luscious oranges when all
the pips have been cast away.
Golden is my girl, and silver and jade, amethyst,
sapphire and opal.
For opal, jealous of the rainbows, has all tints in one.
And my girl's red-hot fingers (scorched at the fire
of genius), play upon a harpsichord of coloured keys.
She is all I have imagined of delight.
Yes, I am in love with her!

(MRS.) GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

III

From 1818 to 1836.

In their general outcry of 'down with the Company's salt monopoly,' they were further backed by the dominant philosophy of the day that had unbounded faith in unrestrained competition as the panacea for all evils. Truly was it said by a contemporaneous writer that the monopoly owed to its name half the ill-will exhibited towards it.

But the Bengal monopoly had to defend itself not merely against its enemies in England. At home it had to reckon with the growing discontent of the vast mass of subject population. The unwise policy of Cornwallis had borne its bitter fruits and the country was suffering from all its worst evils. From the platform and from the press began to be hurled forth invectives against the monopoly which was made the scapegoat of all evils, both real and imaginary.[1]

The agitation was so strong and public opinion was moving against the monopoly so rapidly that the Governor-General had to propose in 1833 the publication of such documents connected with the subject as might be necessary "to meet and refute the unfounded assertions cast upon the salt department both in India and in England."[2]

But it was hardly enough to be able to silence the critics at home and abroad for the Government was itself embarrassed by

[1] In a largely attended public meeting in Calcutta, speakers emptied forth their vials of righteous indignation against the monopoly. But differences of opinion there certainly were even then as they are always bound to be. It is interesting to note that the monopoly had in Mr. Dwarakanath Tagore, a foremost Indian of his time, one of its most ardent advocates.

[2] Separate letter from Bengal (No. 9 of 1833, dated the 14th October).

the "trouble, the annoyance, the uncertainty, and the anxiety imposed by the system."[1] During the period Bengal's salt tax formed an important subject of anxious discussions in many a despatch from the Court of Directors. In 1821 they first adversely commented on Bengal's management of the salt revenue.[2] And in 1827 the Bengal Government received from them a despatch wherein the auction system was discussed and its soundness seriously questioned. "We however wish you," wrote they, "to consider whether instead of periodical sales, the public might not be supplied with salt from the Government warehouses at a fixed price whereby the subordinate monopoly of the salt merchants,...would be prevented, and salt would not be liable to those excessive fluctuations in supply and in price to which the article is now subjected...." "We are most anxious," they continued, "that a limit should be put to the rate of this tax, and that the people should have the benefit in reduction of prices, of any increase of sale which the progress of demand may produce." The Court of Directors had thus got into the heart of the problem.

But their advice remained a mere pious wish. The cherished opinion of the Bengal Board of Revenue that "no mode has been devised for collecting the same amount of revenue, which will be less burthensome to the community than that of periodical sales" died hard. The Government concurred in the opinion of the Board and expressed itself in favour of continuing the old system.

As the time for the renewal of Charter was drawing nigh, the discussions and controversies became more acrimonious than

[1] Letter of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium to the Governor of Bengal, 30th November, 1835.

[2] Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, 8th August, 1821. "Taking in one connected view the whole of your proceedings in relation to the provision of salt.....we cannot fail to be struck by the very great fluctuations in the management of this branch of revenue which assumes much more the appearance of a series of experiments towards the discovery of an efficient permanent system, than a system itself."

ever. As was usual, the grant of the Charter was preceded by exhaustive inquiries in course of which the question of salt tax naturally received a special prominence.

The Committee on Indian affairs of 1831-32 concluded that the total amount of revenue obtained from salt was "too large to be given up" and was at the same time not commutable "for any other tax less onerous to the inhabitants." So far as Bengal was concerned, the Committee found that it was not "expedient to interfere with the existing regulation on that head" for "the collection of an excise duty on salt manufactured for private account would not be easily carried into effect in consequence of the expense and difficulty of establishing an efficient superintendence." Since however it had evidence that "Bengal might obtain a cheaper supply of salt by importation from the seacoasts of Coromandal and Malabar, Ceylon, the gulf of Persia and even Great Britain than any system of home manufacture," it was in its opinion "desirable to adopt means for encouraging a supply of salt by importation in lieu of the manufacture by the Government." But the Committee realised at the same time that it would be ill-advised to abandon the home manufacture at once as there were still doubts about the large supply of imported salt. It therefore suggested the adoption, in the first instance, of a system of "contract for the delivery of imported salt into public warehouses." Under the system, the Committee believed, there would be "a gradual decline of home manufacture until so large a proportion of the consumption would be imported that it might be safe to permit the free import of salt, under a custom duty, the Government sanctioning the manufacture in such districts only (if any) where it could then be profitably carried on." And it was confident that this would mean a "material reduction in the price of salt."

The British salt merchants, determined not to be satisfied with anything short of the abolition of the monopoly, naturally received the recommendations of the Committee with chagrin. Their agitation, never relaxed, was now renewed with

greater vigour. It is well-known that the new Charter Act had forced the Company to divest itself of its commercial character altogether and, to part with its assets at a valuation. The fact was eagerly seized upon by those interested in order to discredit the salt monopoly as an infraction of the terms of the Charter.

Meanwhile, the salt proprietors and manufacturers, preparatory to presenting a petition to the House of Commons, proposed to supply to the Company two or three lakhs of maunds of pure refined salt to be delivered to Calcutta at the price of Rs. 90 per 100 maunds.[1] The object was to afford an opportunity to decide doubts entertained in certain quarters regarding the importation of salt from England. The Court of Directors on a full consideration of the proposal in all its bearings declined to accept the tender.[2]

A thorough and comprehensive *ad hoc* enquiry into the whole question, involving issues so complex and at the same time so far-reaching in character could no longer be delayed for the subject had soon become a constantly recurring theme

[1] Letter of 11th July, 1835, to the Secretary to the Court of Directors.

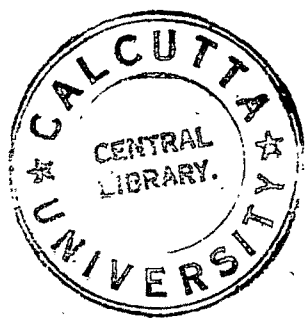
[2] Resolution of the Court of Directors of the 22nd July, 1835, communicated to the merchants and manufacturers in a letter, dated the 23rd July, 1835 : We can know the reasons from the minute of the Judicial and Legislative Committee of the 21st July, 1835 (see App. to the Select Committee on Salt, 1836, No. 69). We quote it here *in extenso* : "The Committee fully considering the probable result of the experiment in relation to the probable pecuniary return, from which alone theyc annot anticipate any great or permanent benefit, but at most a profit which, if equal in any case to that of the average of the Bengal agencies, will still be dependent for its being so on the accident of a rate of freight too low, as the Committee conceive, to be built upon in prospective arrangements of such magnitude and further taking into view the manner in which the mode of supply may affect the Mobunghees of Bengal ; the manner in which it may affect the Indian interests employed in the coastal shipping, by which the deficiency of Bengal manufacture is at present supplied ; the degree in which the importation of any considerable quantity of English salt might lead to the extension of smuggling from the native manufacturers and the degree in which the English may be liable to greater uncertainty than the Indian supply and further considering that the present state of Indian finances does not admit of incurring the risk of an experimental innovation in a matter of such importance and in a system which has hitherto worked so well, recommend that the tender be declined."

CRCV 166

of Parliamentary debate:[1] The House of Commons at last appointed in 1836 a Select Committee to enquire into the supply of salt in British India.

(To be continued.)

PARIMAL RAY



[1] "I observe that the question of maintaining or relinquishing the salt monopoly has lately been agitated in the British Parliament, that his Majesty's Minister for Indian affairs has expressed himself to the effect that this mode of raising one million six hundred thousand pounds per annum was quite indefensible (from newspaper report) and that a member for the country most interested in providing the people of India with Cheshire salt has given notice that he would bring forward a motion on the subject next session." Minute by H. M. Parker, Junior Member of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, dated the 2nd November, 1835.

GS 1287

INDO-PERSIAN ARCHITECTURE

The military and the civil architecture of a people are regulated by the local conditions. When by instinctive skill the bird builds its nest and the lion its cave to protect themselves from the inclemency of weather, etc., it is but natural that a people should invent its own defence. It is, therefore, not expected in most cases that one people should influence another in ancient times in the building of their villages, towns, and forts. Nor is this expectation falsified is case of Persia and India.

Like buildings referred to above the remains of the old Persian military architecture are but scanty for study and comparison. 'When Alexander invaded the country there were no walled cities.' 'No wall surrounded Ecbatana or Sûsa when Alexander entered them, but then, as now in those regions, every town kept its fortress in good order. Behind its thick friendly walls the King could take refuge and place his treasures in safety.' Of all the fortresses the best known and the most ancient was that of Susa. The notion gained by Dieulafoy respecting the Susian defences is summed up in the following words :—

"The fortification works consisted first of a deep broad ditch full of water, communicating with the Shaur and a double rampart. The external or first wall was massive and built of crude bricks, in width 23 metres by 22 metres in height. Against the inner lining of the wall—separated from the masonry by a trail of small pebbles or gravel—leant a mass of earth beaten into a compact mass, 27 metres thick and 18 metres high. On this platform stood two groups of buildings which served at once as barracks and walk rounds..... The second rampart, 14 m. 70 c. broad, was constituted by two walls of unbacked brick, in thickness 3 m. 50 c. to 4 m. 60 c., between which

damp earth was beaten down. Behind the second rampart ran a path..... Broadly stated, the enceinte was not furnished with bastions.... Towers had been distributed at the crenelated summits of the fortress, and its tracing had been so continued that the towers of the second rampart struck the middle of the curtains of the exterior wall."[1] This would look like the scheme adopted at Babylonia and Assyria.

Both recent historians' excavators and archaeologists have equally found out inaccuracy in Herodotus's statement[2] about the seven walls encompassiug Ecbatana, along the flanks of the hill at the summit of which stood the palace of Dejoces. Rawlinson's attempt[3] to seek the fortress with the sevenfold wall, not in the vicinity of Hamadan, but in Media Atropatene at a place called Takht-i-Sukiman has also not been successful.

In India, along with frequent mention of villages, towns and forts,[4] cities with a hundred enclosures are, however, referred to in the earliest extant literature of the world, the Rigveda.[5] On this Muir remarks[6] that although they are only alluded to as figurative expressions of the means of protection afforded by the gods, they no doubt suggest the idea of forts consisting apparently of a series of concentric walls, as actually existing in the country at that time.[7]

In Buddha's time, in Northern India, "we nowhere hear of isolated houses: they were all together, in a group, separated only by narrow lanes. Immediately adjoining was the sacred grove of trees of primeval forest.....villagers united of their own accord to build mote-hills, and rest-houses, reservoirs, to mend the roads between their own and adjacent villages, and

[1] See Perrot and Chipiez, *ibid*, p. 370.

[2] Herodotus, i, 98.

[3] The Fine Great Monarchies, ii, 268.

[4] Rigveda, i, 58, 8; 144, 1; ii, 20, 8; iv, 27, 1; 30, 20; viii, 3, 7; 15, 14; 89, 8; 95, 1.

[5] Rigveda, i, 166, 8; vii, 15, 14.

[6] Sanskrit Texts, v, 451.

[7] For further details see the writer's Indian Architecture, p. 8.

even to lay out parks.....We are told of lofty walls, ramparts with buttresses, and watch-towers, and great gates ; the whole surrounded by a moat or even a double moat, one of water and one of mud." [1]

Full details are available in the Śilpa-śāstras which are avowedly architectural texts. In the *Manasara* villages are divided into eight classes according to their plans—Daṇḍaka, Sarvato-bhadra, Nandyāvarta, Paḍmaka, Svastika, Prastara, Kārmuka, and Chaturmukha. Every one of these villages is surrounded by a wall made of brick or stone ; beyond this wall there is a deep and broad ditch. There are generally four main gates at the middle of the four sides, and as many at the four corners. Inside the wall there is a large street running around the village. There are two other large streets, each of which connects two opposite main gates. They intersect at the centre of the village, where a temple or public hall is generally built. The village is thus divided into four main blocks, each of which is again subdivided into many blocks by streets which are always straight, and run from one end to the other of a main block.[2]

Towns are also divided into eight classes—Rājaḍhānīya-nagara, Kevalanagara, Pura, Nagarī, Kheta, Kharvata, Kubjaka, and Pattana. The smaller towns are but an enlargement of the village differing mostly in matter of dimensions. According to the *Mānasāra* the dimensions of the smallest town-unit are 100 by 200 daṇḍas (of 4 cubits each), and the largest 7,200 by 14,400 daṇḍas. There are generally twelve large streets in a small town.[3]

Forts are first divided into eight classes known as Śibira, Vāhinī-mukha; Sthānīya, Droṇaka, Saṁviddha or Vardhaka, Kolaka, Nigama and Skandhāvāra. There is a further division according to the strategic position—mountain fort, forest fort,

[1] Buddhist India, Rhys Davids, pp. 42, 45, 49, 64-65, Jataka I, 199.

[2] For further details see the writer's Dictionary, pp. 180-186, and Indian Architecture, pp. 39-40.

[3] For further details see the writer's Dictionary, pp. 283-294; 259-262.

water fort, chariot fort, divine fort, marsh fort, and mixed fort. The mountain fort is again subdivided as it is built on the top, valley, or slope of a mountain. Everyone of the forts is surrounded with strong and high walls, and deep and broad ditches. The wall is made of brick, stone and similar materials. It must be at least twelve cubits high and six cubits thick. It is provided with watch-towers.[1]

In Persia there appears to have been nothing like these so far as the Persian towns and forts can be judged from the scanty remains.

Of the civil architecture in Persia fragmentary information regarding certain palaces only are available. Even such information is entirely lacking in regard to the less imposing but decidedly more common buildings, where the bulk of the people used to live, and wherefrom alone the national life and habit could have been estimated for comparison with corresponding buildings in India. The historian divides these Persian buildings into three types, namely, the open throne-room, the walled throne-room, and the inhabited palace.

"Capitals, as Ecbatana, Susa, and Persepolis, were not alone in possession of royal palaces; there were houses also in lesser centres where kings stopped a few days, so as to escape from the extreme cold and heat. Polycletus [2] who has been cited by Strabo,[3] and who was a contemporary of Alexander and well versed in all things pertaining to Persia writes, "on the summit of the mound at Susa every king builds a separate palace for himself, with treasuries and stores, a pile of building set apart receiving tributes levied in the course of his reign, and which must be kept as monument of his administration." "But this statement lacks confirmation. Susa certainly had palaces as fine, as vast and grand as Persepolis, but nothing now appears above ground; what subsists is buried under an

[1] For further details see the writer's Dictionary, pp. 259-262.

[2] Fragments collected by C. Muller, Scriptores rerum Alexandri Magni, pp. 130-132.

[3] Strabo, XV, iii, 21.

enormous accumulation of earth and rubbish, whence the English and French excavations have only disengaged the fragments.[1]

According to Strabo[2] and Arrian,[3] Cyrus after defeating Astyages built in Pasargadae palaces and treasuries which existed at the time of the Macedonian invasion. The ruins at the village of Mished-i-Murghab are supposed to be the remains of these edifices. After clever restoration the general plan appears to be this: 'a four-pillared porch, with two lateral chambers, then comes a great hypostyle hall, divided into four aisles by two ranges of pillars which supported the ceiling..... the number of pillars is not large; their dimensions, together with those of the building considered as a whole, do not come near those displayed later at Persepolis and Susa, nor are the walls as thick as on the platform of the Takht-i-Jamshid.[4] Of the "small palace" and the Takht-i-Soleiman (the stage of Solomon) little remains to give an idea of its plan.

At present the district where Persepolitan kings built royal palaces contains naught but villages. 'As to Persepolis, besides anonymous buildings in a poor state, four kings have left structures signed by them. Amongst all these edifices not two are alike. Again, neither the plan nor the dimensions of the colossal fabric, those we should call state apartments, throne-rooms, were uniform.[5] Several important structures of Persepolis have been restored.

One of these is known as the platform: very little of it really remains, but contains four inscriptions and the signature of Darius. Its general plan is shown by a carriage-road winding round the southern face led from the plain to the platform; it (road) then went behind the edifice along the first slope of the hill, to approach again the esplanade towards the east angle, whence it mounted as far as the pair of tombs situated in the

[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *ibid*, pp. 257, 266.
[2] Strabo, XV, iii, 3, 7, 8.
[3] Arrian, III, xv, iii, 10,
[4] Perrot and Chipiez, *ibid*, pp. 268-269, 270,
[5] Perrot and Chipiez, p. 257.

rock behind the level.[1] This level is reached by a "superb stair case" consisting not more than a hundred and eleven steps, which is very common in India.[2]

'Four distinct horizontal plans may be counted on the platform. The lower stage is narrow and insignificant: it does not seem to have supported any edifices. The second level is approached by the great stair-case, and takes up about three-quarters of the superficies of the platform; upon it were distributed the principal buildings—the Propylaca and the Hall of a hundred columns. Proceeding from north to south there is another esplanade, some three metres above this, which contains the relics of the most important and attractive of all the royal edifices, the hypostyle hall of Xerxes. Again, to the rear of this is reached the terrace which carried two buildings, the palaces of Darius and Xerxes. Lastly, a building at the south-east angle appears to have had its floor on the third stage.'[3]

Dr. Spooner could not find out such platform at Kumrahar, Patna. Nor does the high plinth at Sanchi, or the Buddhist railings in many places seem to resemble this Persian platform.

The Propylaea was signed by Xerxes: its principal remains are two great piers some eleven metres high, beyond projects in round boss, the foreparts of two quadrupeds, right and left of paved corridor 3 m. 82 c. broad. Even after restoration based on such scanty materials it can never look like any Indian building, such as the great gateways of temples (Gopuram).

The Hypostyle Hall of Xerexes also contains his signature. But very little of it really remains. Its general character has been indicated by Perrot and Chipiez: "Beyond the substructures is found the most important group of columns, of which three shafts alone remain." Originally there were seventy-two pillars, which supported the ceilings.

[1] Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 282-283.

[2] Compare for instance the grand stair-case at Sitakundu Hill, Chittagong, Bengal, which consists of more than a thousand steps.

[3] Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 284, 287.

"The stone base that supported the pillars tell us plainly," say Perrot and Chipiez rather too emphatically, "what was the arrangement of the apartment. It was a hall 43 m. 50 c. square, and on its floor are found the marks of thirty-six columns, spaced equidistant from one another, as in the west and east porches." "All that is visible of another isolated structure are the foundation stones distributed in two ranges, which doubtless supported pillars. Their inter-columnation is 2 m. 50 c. In the absence of any fragment, sculptural or architectural, to throw any light on the subject, it is impossible to hazard a guess as to the probable use of this minor building."

The claim of this hall as a queen among other Persepolitan monuments is stated to have been established by "the imposing adjustment and the wealth of ornament displayed about the stairs by which it was approached, the extent of the ground it covered, the exceptional height and magnificence of its quadruple colonnade." The area covered by this hall is stated to far exceed that of the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty. But the site occupied by the central pavilion is not more than 2,500 m. square, whilst that of the Egyptian Colonnade is more than 5,000 m.; but counting the annexes the total area would be not less than 7,500 square metres. This was clearly a reception room of Xerxes.

The Hall of a hundred columns, also a reception, audience, or throne room, is but an enlargement of the hypostyle hall, around which chambers are distributed. It is called an anonymous building, as no inscription has been preserved of it, from which it might have been dated. It was walled on all its faces, with porchlike colonnade in front. In shape the built surface is a parallelogram 75 m. 82 c. from east to west, and 91 m. 16 c. from north to south. 'The principal façade was on the north side.....Counting the intervals between the bases, we get the number of pillars, which was sixteen, arranged in two rows of eight. Two great portals open upon the porch.

"By setting up in *imagination*, the original brick wall,

3 m. 25 c. thick which connected these minor buildings with one another, we get the whole area which it embraced,.... no bearing wall stood here. Of ancient structures nothing remains save fragments of bases, and when these fail, their foundations, the intercolumnations are about those of the portico, 6 m. 20 c., measured from one axis to another, whilst all the bases are uniform in shape." The number of the columns had to be 'made out' merely from the marks of bases left on the floor. They were distributed in rows of ten each, and upheld the roof of a square hall. Their disposition is identical with that of the central pavilion of the great palace of Xerxes.

In front of the palace we have *imagined* the soil furrowed by countless rills, masked by plants and shrubs which they feed into greenness, a contrivance still restored to in modern Persia to obtain the equivalent of our lawns."

"With data of this nature," declare the archaeologists, "to go by, it is easy to restore the edifice." [1]

But with data of this nature no comparison with any Indian building will be convincing to the average reader conversant with the long past of India, despite Dr. Spooner's advocacy to connect this hall with the footmark of what he also imagined to be Asoka's palace.[2]

One other general important characteristic of Persian civil architecture is that "no trace has been detected of a second story about this (Palace of Darius) or any other Persepolitan edifice. To the present hour, Persian dwellings and palaces have but a ground floor, divided into apartments, the number of which depends upon the fortune of the owner. As to the great throne rooms (*i.e.*, the Hypostyle Hall and the Hall of hundred columns), their character excludes the notion of more than one story; each shell, being a perfect unit in itself, was in no need of dependencies, so that we cannot suppose any having existed

[1] Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 326, 341.

[2] See pp. 38-39.

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here. Aught more whimsical than the restoration of Fergusson, who places a second order of pillars above the ceilings of the hypostyle halls with a fire-altar for the King to worship at cannot well be imagined, and will not bear the test of close inspection." [1]

In India even in the earliest Vedic period, which must precede the period of the Persian Halls by several hundred years, mention is made of a sovereign "who, exercising no oppression, sits down in this substantial and elegant hall built with a thousand pillars,' [2] and of residential houses with such pillars as are said to be 'vast, comprehensive, and thousand-doored.' [3] Mitra and Varuna are represented as "occupying a great palace with a thousand pillars and a thousand gates." [4]

There were such other buildings also: Atri is stated to have been "thrown into a machine room with a hundred doors, where he was roasted." [5] Vasishtha desired to have "a three-storeyed dwelling." [6]

In the Matsya-purana [7] halls are divided into twenty-seven kinds according to the number of columns they are furnished with, the largest one having 64 pillars, the next 62, one following 60, and so on; they bear significant and artistic names: (1) Pushpaka; (2) Pushpa-bhadra, (3) Suvrata, (4) Amrita-nandana, (5) Kauśalya, (6) Buddhi-saṃkīrṇa, (7) Gaja-bhadra, (8) Jayāvaha, (9) Śrīvatsa, (10) Vijaya, (11) Vāstu-Kīrti, (12) Śrutiñjaya, (13) Yajña-bhadra, (14) Viśāla, (15) Suślishṭa, (16) Śatrumardana, (17) Bhāga-pañcha, (18) Nandana, (19) Mānava, (20) Māna-bhadraka, (21) Sugrīva, (22) Harita, (23) Karṇikāra,

[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *ibid*, pp. 337-338.

[2] Rigveda (Wilson), ii, 313.

[3] Rigveda (Wilson), iv, 179.

[4] Rigveda, ii, 41, 5; v, 62, 6; vii, 885; Atharva-veda, III, 12; IX, 3. Muir, Comments (Sanskrit Texts, v, 455) "this is but an exaggerated description of a royal residence such as the poet had seen."

[5] R. V., i, 112, 7, Wilson's iv, 148.

[6] R. V., Wilson's iv, 200.

[7] Chap., 270, verses 7-15, 16.

(24) Śatardhika, (25) Simha, (26) Śyāma-bhadra, and (27) Subhadra. In shape they may be triangular, crescent, circular, quadrangular or square, octogonal, and sixteen-sided.

In the *Mānasāra* and other texts where a very large number of halls and pavilions are elaborately described, various storeys of the halls are referred to: the storeys may vary from one to twelve.[1]

In the *Mānasāra* the royal palaces proper are divided, with regard to their size, storey and other characteristic features, into nine classes and assigned to the nine classes of Kings—(1) Chakravartin, (2) Mahārāja or Adhirāja, (3) Mahendra or Narendra, (4) Pārshṇika, (5) Paṭṭadhara, (6) Maṇḍalesa, (7) Paṭṭabhāj, (8) Prāhāraka, and (9) Astra-grāhin. Each of the nine types of the palaces admits of nine sizes. Every one consists of a certain number of halls, audience-chambers or throne-rooms. Thus the palace of the Chakravartin or universal monarch possesses up to seven halls, that of the Adhirāja or Narendra up to six halls, and so forth.[2] The chapter (XI), dealing with the dimensions of storeys varying from one to twelve in residential buildings and temples, concludes with the rule directing the number of storeys in edifices according to the social status of their occupants.[3]

In the Sabha-parva of the Mahābhārata are referred to several halls belonging to the Pandavas (Chap. I), to Indra (Chap. VII), to Yama (Chap. VIII), to Varuna (Chap. IX), to Kubera (Chap. X), and to Brahmā (Chap. XI). The description of every one of these lacks in the architectural details which are necessary for any fruitful comparison. None of the ancient Indian halls or palaces appears to have any substantial resemblance with the Persian open, walled, pillared, or unstoreyed halls.

[1] For details see the writer's Dictionary, pp. 468-490, 580-587.

[2] For more details see the writer's Indian Architecture, pp. 57, 58, 59; Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, under 'Prasada,' pp. 396-430.

[3] Indian Architecture, pp. 41-42.

The only point of similarity between this Pāṇḍava hall and the Spooner's Kumrahar hall which is ascribed to the King Asoka, is no more substantial than that Maya-Asura is stated to have built the former, while some unspecified genii are stated by Fa-Hien to have built the latter.

Thus Spooner seems to have hit upon a further discovery between the supernatural origin of Asokan building hinted by Fa-hien,[1] and the equally mythological description in the Mahābhārata of the hall stated to have been built by Maya-Asura, of which, however, no architectural details are available for a comparison either with the throne-room of Darius-Hystaspes at Persepolis or with the foot-marks of the supposed Asokan hall at Kumrahar.[2] What Maya-Asura claims to have built for the Danavas (genii) may be given in Spooner's own translation "the palaces, pavilions full of pleasures and abounding in delights a thousandfold, delightful gardens, too, and ponds of various kinds; and wondrous vestments, chariots that moved at will, and cities far extended, with high rampart walls; also thousands of wondrous vehicles most excellent, and pleasing caves to every comfort joined."[3]

[1] Fa-Hien's description of Asokan buildings at Patna is but mythical: "The royal palace and halls in the midst of the city (of Pataliputra), which exist now as of old, were all made by spirits which he (Asoka) employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture work, —in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish."

(James Legge, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, p. 77.)

[2] J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 77.

For further discussion of Maya's hall see the writer's article 'Ahura-Mazda and Maya-Asma' (Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Vol. II, pp. 736-751), and his Indian Architecture, p. 166.

[3] दानवानां पुरा पार्थ प्रासादा हि मया कृताः ॥
रम्याणि सुखगर्भाणि भोगाढ्यानि सहस्रशः ।
उद्यानानि च रम्याणि सरांसि विविधानि च ॥
विचित्राणि च वस्त्राणि कामगानि रथानि च ।
नगराणि विशालानि साट्टप्राकारवन्ति च ॥
वादनानि च मुख्यानि विचित्राणि सहस्रशः ।
विलानि रमणीयानि सुखयुक्तानि वै भृशम् ॥

(Mahābhārata, II, i, 14-17.)

See J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 82.

And for Kṛishṇa, Maya is stated to have built a Sabhā—"a Durbar Hall, or throne room" in the words of Spooner. But no details of this hall is given. It is simply stated that 'there could not be any parallel in the world of the mortals, and whereon all heavenly ideas were depicted in bricks, stones (or wood). He declares himself as a great *poet of architecture* (a Ruskin), among the rivals of gods, and he is the Visvakarman who was the heavenly architect among the gods.[1]

To Dr. Spooner Kṛshṇa's so-called 'throne-room' has sounded a note of similarity to the Asokan hall and thence to the Persepolitan 'throne-room' of a hundred columns.

And the supposed supernatural origin of practically all the architectural objects in India has a prototype in the Fa-Hien's ascriptions of Asokan buildings to the genii.

Further, by way of establishing to a certainty the Persian origin of Indian architecture Spooner imagined to have arrived at a number of wonderful discoveries, namely,

(1) That the architectural structures described in the Mahābhārata are of Persian model.

(2) That the palaces to which the Mahābhārata refers are those of Pataliputra (J. R. A. S., pp. 405-6).

(3) That the Kumrahar remains dug out at the cost of a Parsi millionaire are identical with Persepolitan structures (p. 71).

अहं हि विश्वकर्मा वै दानवानां महाकविः।
यदि त्वं कर्तुकामोऽसि प्रियं शिल्पवतां वर।
धर्मराजस्य दैतेय यादृशीमिह मन्यसे॥
यां कृतां नानुकुर्वन्ति मानवाः शैल्पाधिष्ठिताः।
मनुष्यलोके सकले तादृशीं कुरु वै सभाम्॥
यत्र दिव्यानभिप्रायान् पश्येम हि कृतांस्त्वया।
असुरान्मानुषांश्चैव सभां तां कुरु वै मय॥

(Mahābhārata, Sabhā-parvan, i, 5, 9-12.)

[1] See further details in the writer's Indian Architecture, p. 166; and his article on Ahura-Mazda and Maya-Asura. (Proceedings of the 4th Oriental Conference, Vol. II, pp. 736-751.)

(4) That the temple at Bodh-Gaya was founded by the ancient Persians and that Gaya was an early seat of Magian worship (p. 411).

(5) That the ancestors of Buddha, the Śākyas of Kapilavasta were of Zoroastrian origin (pp. 440, 441).

(6) That the Mauryas were Zoroastrians, the name having been derived from Persian Mōrya, and that they came originally from Meru which is stated to have been situated in Persia (pp. 406, 408, 409).

(7) That Chandragupta Maurya was a Persian: Persepolis was his ancestral home (p. 409); he probably came with Alexander and was left behind to occupy the throne at Magadha and made Persian architects build palaces after the Persian model, remains of which even with Persian mason's marks are fancied to have been explored at Patna (pp. 422, 427).

(8) That the name, Magadha, is Persian in origin, derived from Persian Mugh or Magi (pp. 422, 427).

(9) That a portion of the Atharva-veda [1] containing the term, 'Magadha' must be of Persian origin (pp. 420, 421, 422).

(10) That Brahmā is not an Indian god, but an echo (or imitation) of the Zoroastrian Arch-Angel Vahuman (p. 449).

The obvious object of these speculations was to establish an all-round Persian influence over the Indian culture which was no doubt older by several centuries. Spooner started with a prejudiced mind and over-enthusiasm has misled him from the field of archaeology proper to the subtle speculation of philosophy. It is needless to add that none of these theories has been worked out, and that none has found acceptance to any serious student of history.[2]

[1] (*i*) That the Garuḍa-purana also is of the Indo-Zoroastrian origin (p. 428).

(*ii*) That the Yoga system of Indian Philosophy was derived from the Persian mummeries.

(*iii*) That the Tantric system and the 'Sakti cult of the Brahmins of 'Sakadvipa which was the home of the Zoroastrian Magi (p. 447) were originated from the magic rites of the Persian goddess Ishtar (p. 435).

[2] For instance, compare V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1915, pp. 800-802.

Thus there appears to be no similarity between Persia and India in civil, military, or religious architecture. In the light of all the aforesaid facts the theory of Persian influence upon Indian architecture does no longer seem tenable. There is certainly a sort of similarity between a certain type of capital in India and Persia, but that is all. But the Indian pillar as a whole, we have shown elsewhere elaborately,[1] shows affinity with the Greco-Roman order. And the certain school of Indian sculpture bears the stamp of Grecian type.

In the light of all the facts briefly discussed above merely to deal with the questions as they concern architecture it seems impossible to think of any connection between India and Persia.

Let, therefore, Vahuman alone, and let Brahman, the same unknown god whom all civilized men of the world worship, remain as an Indian deity with four heads.

(*Concluded.*)

P. K. ACHARYA

[1] See the writer's Dictionary, pp. 679-704; Indian Architecture, pp. 149-153.

THE DECLINE OF THE EARLY GUPTA EMPIRE

Towards the close of the fifth century A.D. the empire built up by the genius of Samudra Gupta and Vikramāditya was fast hastening towards dissolution. Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-*c.* 467) was the last king of the Early Gupta line who is known to have controlled the westernmost provinces. After A.D. 467 there is no evidence that the Imperial Guptas had anything to do with Surāṣṭra or even Western Malwa. Budha Gupta (A.D. 476-77 to 495-96) was probably the last prince of the family to be implicitly obeyed on the banks of the Lower Ganges as well as the Narmadā. The rulers who came after him retained a precarious hold for some time on Eastern Malwa and North Bengal. But they had to fight with enemies on all sides, and, if a tradition recorded by Jinasena (Harivaṁśa, ch. 60), is to be believed, their power collapsed in A.D. 551 (320+231):

Guptānāṁ ca śata-dvayam
eka-triṁśa cca varṣāṇi
kāla-vidbhir udāhṛtam:[1]

The supremacy over Āryāvarta then passed to the houses of Mukhara (*cir.* A.D. 554)[2] and Puṣyabhūti (family of Harṣa, A.D. 606-647) under whom the centre of political gravity shifted from Magadha to Kanauj. Attempts were no doubt made by a line of later Guptas to restore the fallen fortunes of their family, but these were not crowned with success till after the death of Harṣa.

The causes of the decline of the early Gupta Empire are not far to seek, though a detailed presentation of facts is impossible in view of the paucity of contemporary records. The broad outline of the story is, however, perfectly clear. The

[1] Ind. Ant., 1886, 142; Bhand. Com. Vol., 195.
[2] Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 110-120; JRAS, 1906, 843f.

same causes were at work which proved so disastrous to the Turki Sultanate of Delhi in the fourteenth century, and to the Mughal Empire in the eighteenth, *viz.*, outbreak of rebellions within, devastating invasions from without and dissensions in the imperial family itself.

Already in the time of Kumāra Gupta I., the stability of the empire was seriously threatened by a turbulent people whose name is commonly read as Puṣya-mitra. The danger was averted by the crown prince Skanda Gupta. But a more formidable enemy appeared from the steppes of Central Asia. Inscriptions discovered at Bhiṭarî, Kura, Gwalior and Eran, as well as the records of several Chinese pilgrims, prove that shortly after the death of Kumāra Gupta I, the fierce Huns swooped upon the north-western provinces of the empire and eventually made themselves master of the Pañjāb and Eastern Malwa.

The newcomers were long known to the people of India as a race of Uitlanders closely associated with the Chinese. The Mahāvastu I, 135, mentions them along with the Cînas, while the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata (ii. 51. 23-24) includes them in a list of foreign tribes amongst whom the Cînas occupy the first place :—

> Cînān Śakān tathā ch Odrān Varvarān Vanavāsinaḥ
> Vārṣṇeyān Hāra-Huṇāṁśca Kṛṣṇān Haimavatāṁstathā.

A verse in the Bhīṣmaparva (9. 65-66) brings the Huns into relations with the Pāraśikas or Persians :—

> Yavanāś Cîna Kāmbojā dāruṇā Mlecchajātayaḥ
> S akṛdgrahāḥ Kulatthāśca Huṇāḥ Pāraśikaiḥ saha.

This verse is reminiscent of the period when the Huns came into contact with the Sassanian dynasty of Persia.[1] Kālidāsa, too, places the Huns close to Persia—in the saffron-producing country watered by the river Vaṅkṣu, the modern Oxus.[2] Early

[1] Smith, EHI, 4th edition, p. 339.
[2] Ind. Ant., 1912, 265f.

in the reign of the Emperor Skanda Gupta they poured into the Gupta Empire, but were at first beaten back. The repulse of the Huns is mentioned in the Bhitarî Inscription and is also probably alluded to by the grammarian Candragomin as a contemporary event.[1] With the passing away of Skanda Gupta, however, all impediments to the steady advance of the invaders seem to have been removed, and, if Somadeva, a Jaina contemporary of Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, is to be believed, they penetrated into the Indian interior as far as Citrakūṭa.[2] They certainly conquered the Eran district (Arikiṇa pradeśa) in the Central Provinces. The principal centres of their power in India in the time of their kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula were Pavvaiyā (on the Chināb)[3] and Śākala (modern Siālkoṭ) in the Pañjāb.

Next to the Hun inroads must be mentioned the ambition of generals and feudatories. In the time of the Emperor Skanda Gupta, Surāṣṭra was governed by a Goptṛ or Margrave named Parṇadatta who was appointed by the emperor himself to the Viceroyalty of the West. Shortly afterwards Bhaṭārka, a chief of the Maitraka clan, established himself in this province as general or military governor, with his capital at Valabhî. He, as well as his immediate successor, Dharasena I, was satisfied with the title of Senāpati, but the next chief Droṇasiṁha, the second son of Bhaṭārka (A.D. 502 ?) assumed the title of Mahārāja. A branch of the dynasty established itself in Mo-la-po (Mālavaka)[4] or the westernmost part of Malwa in the latter half of the sixth century, and made extensive conquests in the direction of the Sahya and Vindhya Hills.[5] Another, and a

[1] Ind. Ant., 1896, 105.

[2] Bhand. Com. Vol., 216.

[3] JBORS, 1928, March, p. 33.

[4] Smith, EHI, 4th edition, p. 343.

[5] Dharasena II, king of Valabhî, left two sons, *viz.*, Śîlâditya I Dharmâditya and Kharagraha I. The account of Hiuen Tsang seems to suggest that in his time (*i.e.*, shortly after Śîlâditya) the Maitraka dominions split up into two parts, one part including Mo-la-po and its dependencies probably obeying the line of Śîlâditya, the other part, including Valabhî,

junior, branch continued to rule at Valabhî. In the seventh century Dhruvasena II.of Valabhî married the daughter of Harṣa. His son Dharasena IV (A.D. 645-649) assumed the Imperial titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Chakravartin.

But the Maitrakas of Mo-la-po and Valabhî were not the only feudatories who gradually assumed an independent position. The rulers of Mandasor pursued the same course, and their example was followed by the Maukharis of the Madhyadeśa and the kings of Navyāvakāśikā and Karṇasuvarṇa in Bengal.

Mandasor, the ancient Daśapura, was one of the most important Viceregal seats of the Early Gupta Empire. It was the capital of a long line of margraves who governed part of western Malwa on behalf of the Emperor Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya and his son Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya. With the sixth century A.D., however, a new scene opened. Yaśodharman, ruler of Mandasor about A.D. 533, emboldened no doubt by his success over the Huns, defied the power of his Gupta overlords (Guptanātha), and set up Pillars of Victory commemorating his conquests, which, in the words of his court panegyrist, embraced the whole of Hindusthān from the river Lauhitya, or the Brahmaputra, to the Western Ocean, and from the Himālayas to the mountain Mahendra or the Eastern Ghāṭs. After his death the Guptas figure again as lords of Mālava (Eastern Malwa) in literature and inscriptions of the time of Harṣa. But Western Malwa could not be recovered by the family. Part of it was, as we have already seen, included within the dominions of the Maitrakas. Another part, *viz.*, Avanti or the district round Ujjain, the proud capital of Vikramāditya and Mahendrāditya in the fifth century A.D.,[1] is found in the next

obeying Kharagraha and his sons one of whom was Dhruvasena II, Bāläditya or Dhruvabhaṭa, who married the daughter of Harṣa. The account of the Chinese pilgrim seems to receive confirmation from the Alina plate of Śîläditya VII (Fleet, c. i.i, 171f) which associates Derabhaṭa, the son of Śîläditya I Dharmäditya, with the region of the Sahya and Vindhya mountains, while the descendants of Kharagraha I are connected with Valabhî.

[1] Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara, Bk. XVIII; Allan, Gupta Coins, xlix n; Bomb. Gaz. I, 2-578.

century in the possession of Saṁkaragaṇa of the Kataccburi or Kalachuri dynasty[1] which gave way to a Brāhmana family in the days of Hiuen Tsang,[2] which, in its turn, was replaced by the Gurjara Pratihāras in the eighth century.[3]

Another family which came to the forefront in the sixth century A.D., was the line of the Mukharas or Maukharis. The stone inscriptions of the princes of this dynasty prove their control over the Bārā Bankî, Jaunpur and Gayā districts of the United Provinces and Bihār. All these territories formed integral parts of the Gupta Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. In the next century they must have passed into the hands of the Maukharis. The feudatory titles of the earlier princes of the Mukhara line leave no room for doubt that they occupied a subordinate position in the first few decades of the sixth century A.D. In or about the year A.D. 554, however, Īśāna-varman Maukhari ventured to measure swords with the Guptas, and probably also with the Huns, and assumed the Imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja. For a period of about a quarter of a century (A.D. 554-*cir.* A.D. 580) the Maukharis were beyond question the strongest political power in the Upper Ganges Valley. They anticipated to some extent the glorious achievements of Harṣa, the brother-in-law, and, apparently, the successor (on the throne of Kanauj) of their last notable king Grahavarman.

Like the Maukharis, the rulers of Bengal, too, seem to have thrown off the Gupta yoke in the second half of the sixth century A.D. In the fourth and fifth centuries Bengal undoubtedly acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta Empire. The reference to Samataṭa in Eastern Bengal as a *pratyanta* or border state in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription proves that the Imperial

[1] G. Jouveau Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, 82.

[2] Watters, Yuan Chwang, ii. 250.

[3] Ind. Ant., 1886, 142; Ep. Ind., XVIII, 1926, 239 (verse 9 of Sañjam grant); *cf.* Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 177 (reference to a governor of Ujjain under the Pratihāra King Mahendrapāla, II.)

dominions must have embraced the whole of Western Bengal, while the inclusion of Northern Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana bhukti) within the empire from the days of Kumāra Gupta I to A.D. 543-4[1] is sufficiently indicated by the Dāmodarapura and Pāhāḍpur plates. Samataṭa, though outside the limits of the Imperial provinces, had, nevertheless, been forced to feel the irresistible might of the Gupta arms. The Harāhā Inscription of Īśānavarman, however, shows that the political situation had changed completely about the middle of the sixth century A.D. A new power, *viz.*, that of the Gauḍas, was fast rising to importance in the valley of the Lower Ganges. Gauḍa was already known to Pāṇini (VI. ii. 100) and the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra (ii. 13). The grammarian seems to associate it with the East (*cf.* VI. ii. 99). A passage occurring in the Matsya, Kūrma, and Liṅga Purāṇas[2] has, however, been taken to mean that the Śrāvastî region was the cradle of the Gauḍa people. But the passage in question does not occur in the corresponding text of the Vāyu Purāṇa.[3] In early literature the people of the Śrāvastî region are always referred to as the Kosalas. Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kāmasūtra, writing probably in the third or fourth century of the Christian Era, refers to Gauḍa and Kosalâ as names of distinct countries.[4] Gauḍa in the Matsya-Kūrma-Liṅga MSS. may have been inserted as a Sanskritised form of Goṇḍa in the same way as the term Madra-maṇḍala is employed to denote the Madras Presidency by some modern paṇḍits of the Southern Presidency who are unacquainted with the topography of Ancient India. In the Central Provinces the name "Gond" is very often Sanskritised into Gauḍa.[5] Varāha-

[1] For the date see Ep. Ind., XVII, Oct. 1924, p. 345.

[2] Nirmitā yena Śrāvastī Gauḍa-deśe dvijottamāḥ (Matsya, XII. 30, *cf.* Linga, I. 65). Nirmitā yena Śrāvastī Gauḍa-deśe Mahāpurī (Kūrma I. 20.19).

[3] Yajñe Śrāvastakorājā Śrāvastī yena nirmitā (Vāyu, 88.27).

[4] For Kosalā see *daśanacchedya-prakaraṇam*; for Gauḍa see *nakhacchedya-prakaraṇam* and *dāraraksika-prakaraṇam*.

[5] *Cf.* Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series, Central Provinces, p. 158.

mihira, writing in the sixth century A.D., places Gauḍaka in the Eastern division of India. He does not include Gauḍa in the list of countries situated in the Madhyadeśa. Mention is no doubt made of a place called Guḍa. But, if Alberuni (i. 300) is to be believed, Guḍa is Thanesar and not Oudh. The use of the term Pañca Gauḍa as the designation of a territory embracing Northern India as far as Kanauj and the river Sarasvatî, is distinctly late, and dates only from the twelfth century A.D. The term is possibly reminiscent of the Gauḍa empire of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, and cannot be equated with the ancient realm of the Gauḍas in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The distinct statement in the Harāhā Inscription that the Gauḍas were on the sea-shore, clearly suggests that the Bengal-littoral and not Oudh, was the seat of the people in the sixth century A.D. In the next century, their king Śaśāṅka is found in possession of Karṇasuvarṇa near Murshidabad. In the century that follows, a Gauḍa appears, in the Gauḍa-vaho of Vākpatirāja, as the occupant of the throne of Magadha. The zenith of Gauḍa power is reached in the ninth century when the Gauḍa dominion extends over the Gangetic Doab and Kanauj. About the early kings of the Gauḍas our information is meagre. Certain copper-plate grants, discovered in the Faridpur District, disclose the existence of three kings—Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva—who are described as overlords of Navyāvakāśikā and Vāraka-maṇḍala, apparently in the present Faridpur District. The Vappaghoṣavāṭa inscription introduces to us a fourth king *viz.*, Jayanāga who ruled at Karṇasuvarṇa. These kings are, however, not expressly referred to as Gauḍas. The earliest king, to whom that epithet is applied is the famous Śaśāṅka, the great rival of Rājya-vardhana of Thanesar and his brother Harṣa. The title Mahārājādhirāja assumed by the Bengal Kings mentioned above, leaves no room for doubt that they no longer acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas and set themselves up as independent sovereigns.

The uprising of the Puṣyamitras, the invasions of the Huns

and the intransigentism of provincial governors and feudatories, were not the only sources of trouble to the Guptas in the last days of their sovereignty. Along with foreign inroads and provincial insubordination we should not fail to take note of the dissensions in the Imperial family itself. The theory of a struggle amongst the sons of Kumāra Gupta I., may or may not be true, but there is evidence to show that the later kings of the line sometimes took opposite sides in the struggles and convulsions of the period.[1] Moreover, they do not seem to have been on friendly terms with their Vākāṭaka cousins. Narendrasena Vākāṭaka, a great-grandson of Candragupta II through his daughter Prabhāvatī, seems to have come into hostile contact with the lord of Mālava. His grandson Hariṣena claims victories over Avanti. Inasmuch as the Guptas are associated with parts of Mālava as late as the time of Harṣa, some of the victories gained by the Vākāṭakas must have been won over their Gupta cousins.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that while the earlier Guptas were staunch Brāhmanists, some of whom did not scruple to engage in sacrifices involving the slaughter of living beings, the later kings or at least some of them (*e.g.*, Budha (Buddha) Gupta, Tathāgata Gupta and Bālāditya) had Buddhist leanings. As in the case of Aśoka after the Kaliṅga war and Harṣa after his intimate relation with the Chinese Master of the Law, the change of religion probably had its repercussions on the military and political activities of the Empire. In this connection it is interesting to recall a story recorded by Hiuen Tsang. When "Mahirakula," the Hun tyrant ruling at Śākala, proceeded to invade the territory of Bālāditya, the latter said to his ministers, "I hear that these thieves are coming, and *I cannot fight with them* (their troops); by the permission of my ministers *I will conceal my poor person* among the bushes of the morass."

[1] Deva Gupta, for instance, was an enemy of Harṣa's family, while Mādhava Gupta was a friend.

Having said this he withdrew to an island with many of his subjects. Mahirakula came in pursuit but was taken alive as a captive. He was, however, set free and allowed to go away on the intercession of the Queen Mother.[1] We do not know how far the story is authentic. But it seems that Indians of the seventh century A.D., from whom the Chinese pilgrim must have derived his information, did not credit the later Buddhist rulers of the Gupta dynasty with the possession of much courage or military vigour, though they bear testimony to their kindness and piety. The misplaced clemency of Bālāditya and his mother helped to prolong the tyrannical rule of Mihirakula and gave Yaśodharman and the succeeding aspirants for imperial dominion, *viz*, Īśānavarman and Prabhākara-vardhana, an opportunity of which they were not slow to take advantage and thereby seal the doom not only of the Hun, but also of the Gupta domination in Northern India.

H. C. Ray Chaudhuri

[1] Beal, Si-yu-ki I, 168f.; Watters, I, 288-289.

ELEGY ON AN INDIAN CHILD

Through the city's crowded streets I wended on my way,
Casting eyes on all around, though listless was my tread,
When a sight soon fixed my gaze—I looked upon the dead:
With eyes downcast a father held a piece of mouldering clay.

Nought said he in his poignant grief; with stiffened lip and stride
He held within a spotless sheet, knotted above, below,
The remnants of his tender son,—no tear his eye did show,
But with a look of ghastly woe, hied to the river's side.

There to place upon the pyre, the son he full did prize,
The little one who cheered his home, his joy, his hope, his pride.
What of immortal part remained where would it now abide?
A moment here, a moment there, and then—who can surmise?

Is this the end to which all come, by brief or lengthening day?
These be the glories man obtains, at last in earth to rest?
How fleet the pomp that mortals boast! The noblest and the best
Alike with meanest wretches meet, the mud with miry clay.

The soul from circling glories comes, from that eternal shore,
Here but to move for one brief hour, then back to realms unknown,
As a bird chirps upon the bough, then straight away is flown,—
We wonder whence it comes and goes unseen for ever more.

The gew-gaws man awhile may daze, with wealth and honours rife,
The sceptre like the crook shall break, as every tinsel must,
Alike we reach the gaping grave, unto the trampled dust,
When the brief span of toil is o'er and ended is the strife.

What is immortal cannot cease; from off the shining main
Through many cyclic changes wheeled, it passes on before.
Doing what is ordained to do, nor less nor even more,
Whirling unto the gates of death; a joy restored to gain.

Place on the pan the greatest gifts the world can still afford,
In power or pelf, the mighty things which mortals do attain,
Higher than all the earthly goods, ampler than worldly gain,
Worthier than all that men achieve by pen or by the sword;

Greater than all the suns above,—a dazzling maze on high,—
Redoubled with the worlds unseen, makes not a living soul,
No scale can measure full the worth, no rood can gauge the whole,
Beyond all earthly covet, what rich treasures cannot buy.

Yet feeble as this child we came, when first it oped its eyes,
To grow while Hope the scene displays, now great, now greater still,
Till ruthless struck, we sink in sleep, when Death proclaims his will
Snapping the cord that life has spun, the soul with ardour flies.

Good for good's sake in all our lives,—no higher, choice reward,
Seeking not gain nor hope beyond, by good unceasing done,
Not for the laureled brow to strive, nor for the victory won,
As unto us we do expect, so others do toward.

This is the golden key to find, for all the suffering earth,
That opens to the path beyond, immeasurably high,
Leading unto eternal realms above the earth and sky,
Where lies the abode of endless bliss,—the single way or worth.

" 'Tis but a child that goes before "—we judge as fellow men,
" What is the good on earth achieved, what gloried, honoured name?"—
We cannot judge, we cannot tell, for we are but the same,
Another marks the golden deeds, done every now and then.

Remembered by what we have done, dull scrrow's load to bear,
Lifting the burdens the others bore, upon our shoulders wide,
Helping upon life's dusty road those limping in their stride,
These shall a guerdon to us bring, a boon both high and rare.

Somehow, somewhere, we know not when, or how, or even why,
We pass beyond life's portals, through our many earthly needs,
But in life's garden we have sown or weeds or precious seeds,
The Reaper knows what last will sprout, the thorns or blades
of rye.

Thus musing on my wandering way, my soul found ready cheer,
For the sad scene had left a scent of memory sweet to me,
A message clear did clasp my heart, it set my spirit free,
My soul its bondage close in twain, freed from all doubt and fear.

H. W. B. Moreno.

PROGRESS OF BANKING IN INDIA

Banking, which is the root of our economic progress is in a hopeless state of neglect and one cannot dissociate the responsibility of leaving the resources of the country so insufficiently developed from those who are directing the credit and the banking policy of the country. Thanks to the Banking Enquiry Committee for their exertion in finding out the actual causes of weakness in our banking system, and let us hope they will find out ways and means to bring our system on a staple basis like the banking system of other countries. To review the present position may be somewhat tedious but the actual facts are to be recorded. Our banking system can be conveniently grouped under two heads :—(1) Banking under modern system (2) Banking under indigenous system. Under the head (1) we have :—

(*a*) *The Imperial Bank of India.*—This bank was formed in 1921 by the amalgamation of the three Presidency Banks. According to its constitution the Imperial Bank acts as Bankers to the Government of India and is the custodian of the Public Funds and Government Cash Balances of the Central, Provincial and of the Secretary of States in London. The Bank's business is regulated by a special act of the Indian Legislature. The control of the currency and credit policy is in the hands of the Government and the Imperial Bank. The Bank in co-operation with the Government exercises greater influence in the Money market through its Bank rate. In our country the Bank rate is more or less a whim of the Imperial Bank. There is nothing to show that the Bank rate to be increased or decreased at a specified percentage of the Imperial Reserve to outside liabilities. A glance of the Imperial Bank's rate from 1921 to date will convince the average reader the unsteadiness of the Indian Money Market. The fluctuations in the Bank rate and the difference between the highest and the lowest in any given period is very marked. This reflects more or less upon the

inadequacy of the Indian Banking and the want of a proper monetary organisation in the country. The Bank is prevented from doing Exchange business and cannot advance money for a longer period than 6 months. The Bank is not supposed to grant long term loans and it often recalls cash credits or demand loans granted to Industrial Concerns when the Money Market is tight with the result that the Industrial Concerns are forced to borrow money at a prohibitive rate for the repayment of loans to the Imperial Bank. There are nearly 100 branches of the Bank all over the country, some of the branches are not working on a profitable basis but their establishment was a part of the general contract with the Government. The Bank is doing at present more of Commercial Banking transactions with a view to earn profit for the benefit of its shareholders, and acts only to a limited extent as Bankers' Bank. The Bank can be freed from Commercial Commitments and be able to render more help for the advancement of general economic condition of the country.

(*b*) *Exchange Banks* are of foreign origin which have specialised in Indian Exchange business. They have no special attractions to local business but of late they do take deposits at attractive rates. In the matter of granting credit facilities to local businessmen they undertake sparingly. The fund they have are utilised in Exchange business and are remitted abroad to be invested in profitable securities when money is needed in the country to finance the Agricultural Industry. During the busy season they concentrate on exchange business and in the slack season they strengthen their investments. They generally keep their cash position low enough to the demand liabilities in India and in the event of a crisis they may not be in a position to reimburse their liquid assets in time. In the interest of the Indian Money Market and Indian Banking they must be made to keep a certain fixed percentage of liquid assets to the total deposits in India.

(*c*) *Indian Banks.*—Three-fourths of these are very small and are very little known outside the locality in which they do

business. They take only small deposits and grant loans on jewels and mortgage of lands. Their operation affects very little of the general money market. There are a few bigger banks established under Indian Boards of Directors and there are some under mixed Directors. The bigger joint-stock banks finance bulk of the Indian trade. They take deposits and offer attractive rates of interest. In our country we have more scope for Banking development on sound lines and for bringing the facilities for saving within the easy reach of the smallest depositor who wants only security for the money he deposits in a bank. In theory we have a multiple reserve system but in practice most of the banks keep the cash position too low and when a disaster overtakes any bank the depositor has no time to discriminate between a sound and a shaky institution but will run to get his deposit back from whatever bank he has deposited it in. He draws his funds when money is needed urgently to finance the trade and commerce of the country. In order to ensure confidence in Indian Banks the banks should be brought under certain legislation insisting upon a fixed minimum of cash to be deposited with a Central Bank which may come into existence after the present Banking Enquiry is over.

In the matter of increasing the banking habit of the people neither the Imperial Bank nor the Indian Joint-stock Banks have taken any steps to improve the same. The slow growth of banking habit can be seen from the total deposits which stood at Rs. 160 crores in 1917 and in 1926 at Rs. 215 crores, *i.e.*, 55 crores in a period of 9 years. Taking the extent of cheques used in banking operation it is in no way encouraging. We cannot expect a better figure when there are only 500 banking offices in a country of 2,500 towns and 7 lacs of villages. We are often accused that we do not put our savings in banks or invest them in Government loans or industrial securities. As things are at present there are facilities only to a small percentage of the population to having banking accounts. There are also some merchants in the up-country stations having very good business

who do not seek the help of banks, nor do they like cheques being paid to them in payment of their debts. This can be said rather that they do not trust the man who gives them the cheques or the banker on whom they are drawn. This may be partly due to the fact that they are ignorant of the English language. The vital importance of tapping the local resources of the districts is the use of cheques written in the vernacular of the place and the simplification of the banking business; the use of vernacular in drawing cheques may in the future open up a large field for the development of Indian Banking. The use of Cheque Books means considerable education. A depositor must be able to write his name and the amount of the cheque in his own language. Only 10% of the Indian population can read and write. It should be an enormous task if people are taught to deposit and invest their saving in the right direction. The Banking progress in England is increasing enormously. The Big Five are opening new banking offices every day in places where they are required. There are nearly 9,150 banking offices in that country. The immediate reason is that payments are made more and more by cheques only. What was neglected by Bankers sometime ago have now been introduced and they are giving all sorts of conveniences to the clients. If similar measures are introduced in our country we will not only improve our economic condition but will show to the world that we can move with the times.

In the matter of advances the Imperial Bank, the Exchange Banks and the Indian Joint-stock Banks are on the same footing. They, as a rule, do not grant long-term loans. In a country like ours with full potentialities for industrial growth there is not a single industrial bank or investment bank to grant long-term loans at a low rate of interest. The banking problem of Germany and Japan after 1860 was similar to that of ours at present. The long-felt want for loans repayable after several years was solved by the development of Industrial and Commercial Banking side by side. The German Credit Banks carried

on a thorough organisation and promotion of Industrial concerns. These concerns were kept under the care and guidance of their promoters, till they reached a dividend-earning basis. Then the shares of those concerns were offered to the public. Another improvement was that the Joint-stock Banks spread out a network of branches to attract the surplus funds of the public and at the same time acted as distributors of Industrial Securities created by the new flotation. If in our country Industrial Credit Banks are formed under the joint auspices of the Government and the public, it will be a better organisation to finance manufacturing as well as agricultural industry of the country. In the early stages they must be semi-Government institutions but gradually they can be made to stand independently. The Government should empower such banks to help Industrial concerns in times of difficulties so that the public who have put in money in Industrial undertakings may not get nervous.

(*d*) *Co-operative Banks.*—The Co-operative credit movement is a growth of the last 25 years. It is purely a re-organisation to unite our weak peasantry through cheap credits at reasonable rates of interest on the security of their lands. There are at present three kinds of co-operative banks, *viz.*, a village bank, a district bank and a provincial bank, all working to the benefit of the agricultural community. Village banks are being financed by the district banks who are in turn getting help from the provincial banks. The Provincial Banks take deposit from the public and obtain advances from the Imperial Bank as well as from the Indian Joint-stock Banks. The advances they take are the deposits they obtain are only for short-term and they cannot accommodate long-term loans which are required to meet the indebtedness of the agriculturists. An agriculturist requires three kinds of accommodation, *viz.*, a short-term loan repayable within the year out of the sale of produce, an intermediate loan repayable within three to five years, and a long-term loan repayable within twenty to twenty-five years. To meet out the third kind of accommodation special

types of mortgage banks to allow long-term credit on easy terms should be established under the joint auspices of the Government and the public. The Central Mortgage Banks can issue debentures backed by the guarantee of the properties of the borrowers to the primary societies (Village Banks) and transferred by them to the central banks.

(2) *Indigenous Banks.*—Indigenous Banks are working outside the provision of the Indian Companies Act. They are found in every part of India. These Bankers range from a Village Capitalist to a Wealthy Banking concern and we are told that their resources are far greater than the resources of the Indian Joint-stock Banks and the Co-operative Banks put together. They carry on business according to the age-old system. They do not publish statements of their affairs and as such no details are available regarding the capital they invest in their business, the expenses or profit they make. No doubt they finance the agricultural industry of the country at prohibitive rates ranging from 12 to 50% per annum on the security of the land and of the crops. They do most of their transactions on credit basis and these transactions are settled by means of *hundies*. In spite of the development of modern banking in cities their influence is in no way lessened. Some of them in the Mofussil towns and in Presidency towns open current accounts for their constituents issue pass books and cheque books. They offer attractive rates for the current as well as fixed deposits ranging from 7 to 12%. They have got their own market to fix the rates on deposits they take. All the Indigenous bankers are closely connected with each other in their business ; smaller firms are being financed by bigger institutions, who have special limits with the Imperial Bank of India or the Indian Joint-stock Banks. They have got dealings with Exchange Banks as they import bullions through them. They trade to the full limit of their capital and then go to banks for accommodation. The banker's only security is the signature of the endorsing Shroff on the *hundies*. The rates they pay to

the banks are 1 or 2% over the Imperial Bank of India's rate but they charge their clients two to three times more than the rate they pay to the banks. The agriculturists who pay abnormal rates set aside funds for a bare living, the surplus generally goes to the creditor. If the Banking habits of the people are developed and if wider use of cheques takes the place of currency notes and the Mofussil clients are brought within the reach of organised banks through cheap credits, the high rate in the bazar can well be brought under control. The bigger Indigenous Bankers can be liberated to do a special kind of discounting business as the London Bill Brokers and Discount Companies operate. The Discount Companies play a prominent part and their importance is largely due to the fact that holders of Bills of Exchange obtain cash for them and it is the Discount Companies that deal in bills. The Discount Companies are in close touch with all banks in England and have got enormous transactions with other banks and they get enough of credit from the Bank of England also. If our bigger Indigenous Bankers in India who do the *hundie* business establish Discount Companies at the Presidency towns they will not only regulate the supply of bills in this country but also the rate of interest in the bazars, thereby bringing the bazar under the influence of a Central Bank. If Indigenous Bankers adopt themselves to the new conditions and rely for their profits on the turnover of their business they will not only do greater business but also will have greater connection with bankers in this country. If our banking system is to be established on a firm footing and the resources of the country are to be increased, the status of the Indian Joint-stock Banks should be improved, the business of the Indigenous Banks should be brought under certain regulation and a Central Bank for the whole of India, and a Money Market should be established. No credit system can be considered safe if it does not rest on the centralization of the Banking Reserves and the mobility of credit through Bills of Exchange.

O. S. Krishnamoorthy

POPULAR CONTROL OF THE PURSE—HOW FAR IT IS EFFECTIVE IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, U. S. A. AND INDIA

It would perhaps be a platitude to a student of constitutional history of any civilised country to say that much of the constitutional struggle centred round one question, *viz.*, control of the purse. The reason is quite obvious. The purse supplies the key to the whole administration. One who holds the purse-strings dominates the whole field of national affairs, although not actively participating in the administration of the various departments of national activity. As James Madison once remarked, "They who hold the purse, control the Government." So it is that the contending forces in a constitutional system—generally the Executive, the legislature and the electorate—try to gain control of the purse. In such fight, victory naturally is on the side of the people or their representatives.

The object of this paper is to show by an actual analysis of the system of financial administration of some countries, how far popular control over the purse has proved effective.

It would be perhaps quite logical and proper to begin with the English constitution—for like the English Parliament the English constitution may also be called the mother of constitutions.

To put the whole thing in a nutshell, the British financial system resolves itself inlo a simple process, *viz.*, the Crown as the head of the Executive to demand such money as may be needed for the public services, the Commons to grant it, the Lords to assent to it; then again the Crown through its servants to disburse the grants according to the directions of the Parliament and lastly the Auditor and Controller General to control expenditure and audit the accounts. In practice the process is not so simple as put above. The Parliamentary procedure

regulating financial operations looks like a labyrinth into which outsiders often get themselves hopelessly entangled. Like every English institution, this is also empirical, the result of a process of adjustment to circumstances as they have arisen. Much of the procedure devised at a time when the Crown was the motive force of the constitution, by way of hedging in the ever-widening authority of the Crown, has become an anachronism, now when the centre of political gravity has shifted from the Crown to the Cabinet.

As Mr. Hilton Young has put it, "A check upon the Executive's power over the purse is still needed by the Commons as much as ever but the Executive upon whose power the check has to be exercised is now not the Crown but its ministers responsible to the Parliament. Procedure planned to check the Crown is out of date. It is a beautiful structure well worthy of a place in any museum, but it scarcely deserves the elaborate attention and praise which it still receives, because for any practical purpose in enforcing economy under modern conditions it is misdirected. What we need in our financial organisation in the twentieth century, is that the House of Commons should direct its attention to imposing checks upon the extravagance of itself and its own ministers.....When the Executive was not responsible to Parliament, there was a natural antagonism between the two which stimulated the Commons to act as the keen watchdogs of economy, to guard the people's purse against undue exaction and waste. It results that much of what is of most historical interest in the procedure of the House of Commons is now of least practical value, much that was not necessary while the House was struggling to control the expenditure of the Crown, now that the House is itself the motive force in spending, is much needed and is left undone.[1]"

The main general principles regulating the financial operations of the Government of England may be stated as follows :—

[1] Hilton Young—The System of National Finance. pp. 51-52.

1. First the Crown—that is to say the King acting through his ministers who constitute the Executive. Government cannot raise money by taxation, borrowing or otherwise spend money without the authority of Parliament.

2. Secondly the power to grant money in Parliament including collection and appropriation belongs exclusively to the House of Commons. The Upper House assents to or may reject, under certain conditions, a grant of money but cannot initiate or alter a grant.

3. Thirdly, the House cannot vote money for any purpose or impose a tax except at the instance of, and on the responsibility of, the ministers of the Crown.

4. Fourthly, all receipts must be paid into, and all disbursements must be made out of the consolidated fund.

5. Fifthly, the English constitution follows the 'Income and Expenditure' system of accounting, that is to say, all accounts relate to a particular unit of time, *viz.*, the fiscal year beginning on the 1st of April at the end of which all accounts for the year are closed.

With these preliminary observations which have important bearing on the subject-matter under discussion we may set out in search of the element of popular control in the British financial system.

Initiative in financial operations has been given in England to the Executive. The start is given by the Treasury issuing a circular letter to the Departments asking them to submit the 'estimates' of the expenditure for the coming financial year. The estimates of all the departments in due course reach the Treasury which sets out in the work of minute scrutiny of the estimated expenditure under each and every service on the basis of last year's accounts, figures for the current year as well as the financial prospect of the year under consideration arrived at by a comparison of the estimated receipts from various sources with the estimated expenditure on all the different services. Naturally enough in submitting the estimates the spending departments

keep a safe margin and the Treasury recommends 'cuts' under various heads of expenditure consistent with efficient administration. If the departments do not agree to the cuts the point in dispute is referred to the Cabinet where both the Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as the head of the department concerned present their cases and some final decision is taken. Considerations of economy are compounded with those of public policy and administrative efficiency. Here begins the first element of control over expenditure. But it should be noted that as yet the operations are carried on within the walls of White Hall and not exposed to public gaze. When the estimates are finally accepted by the Departments they come back to the Treasury divided into four parts according to the nature of the service—Army, Navy, Air force and Civil service. On the basis of the estimates of expenditure the Chancellor of the Exchequer devises ways and means for meeting them which he incorporates along with the estimates of expenditure in the annual budget.

The next step in the financial work of the Government is taken in Parliament. That no expenditure can be incurred nor any taxation imposed without the authority of Parliament has long become an established principle and so to say the charter of constitutional liberty of the English people with which every school boy in England is perhaps familiar. Hence when the administration has compiled the estimates the legislature must give them statutory authority before they can be acted upon. According to the rule (3) stated above the estimates are presented to the Parliament by one of the responsible ministers. Apparently it seems that this step is devised for giving the legislature control over the purse but only a superficial acquaintance with the actual procedure followed in this connection will disabuse one's mind of such false ideas.

First of all, the estimates are divided into two parts—one part of it, comprising what are called consolidated fund services, depends on permanent statutes and so does not come under the annual review of the House at all. With regard to the rest

which depend on the annual vote of the House no member can move for an increase of expenditure under any head nor any alteration in their destination but can only move for reduction. Even the motions for reduction are "not what they seem," in parliamentary practice they have been converted into methods of criticising and turning a searchlight on the administration rather than of securing economy; for the passing of any such motion in the House is interpreted as an expression of want of confidence in the ministry. Naturally therefore as an effective Control over the financial proposals of the Government it has proved quite abortive. As President Lowell has put it in his characteristic way, "Financially the work (of the House) is rather supervision than direction and its real usefulness consists in *securing publicity and criticism rather than controlling expenditure.* It is the tribunal where at the opening of the financial year the ministers must explain and justify every detail of the fiscal policy and where at its close they must render an account of their stewardship." (Lowell—Govt. of England, Vol. I, p. 288.) This will be patent to any one who has the least acquaintance with the system of financial administration in Great Britain. By a standing order of the House financial initiative, that is the initiative as regards all proposals for imposing taxation or incurring expenditure, has been given over to the responsible ministers of the Crown. Private members have been completely ousted as regards this important prerogative. When the proposals are actually submitted before the House either in Committee or in the Report stage the role of the members is practically confined to criticism and review of the administration rather than actual tampering with the proposals. They are not debarred from moving amendments for reducing or rejecting the amounts asked for but if they are moved from financial motives they are generally taken up as a challenge by the Government which marshal all its forces to defeat them. Alternatives can be made only with the wilful acceptance of the motion by the government. But as a means of criticising the administration,

ventilating grievances and securing publicity; with regard to the financial policy of the government the debates in the committee or the House are quite effective. As President Lowell has observed in another place, "The real object of the debate in supply at the present day is not financial discussion but criticism of the administration of the departments, their work being brought under review as their estimates are considered," (Lowell—Vol. I, pp. 307). Messrs. Willoughby and Lindsay have remarked in their joint work, 'Financial Administration of Great Britain' (p. 130) Reduced to final terms the function performed by the House of Commons in considering estimates may be stated to be that of enforcing responsibility on the executive for financial planning through review, criticism and discussion but not of modifying the proposals of the Government. But even as affording a means of free discussion and criticism of the policy of administration their scope is circumscribed within narrow limits by the complete control of the ministry over the procedure and time of the House. So we may come to the conclusion with President Lowell, "The English system seems to be approximating more and more to a condition where the Cabinet initiates everything, frames its own policy, submits that policy to a searching criticism in the House and adopts such suggestion as it deems best; but where the House after all this has been done, must accept the acts and proposals of the Government as they stand or pass a vote of censure and take the chance of a change of ministry or a dissolution. The House tends to lose all powers except the power to criticise and the power to sentence to death."

The financial programme of the year is prepared by the Cabinet, laid before the House formally for their approval but really for their passive acquiescence at the point of bayonet, so to say. The programme must be accepted as it is or the Government would resign. Members of the House must choose between these two alternatives and worldly wise people will as a rule accept the lesser of the two evils which is the acceptance of the

budget in toto, of course with some amount of vituperation. The testimony of a veteran M. P. will not come amiss in this connection.

Writes Lt.-Col. Kenworthy, "It is a melancholy fact but it must be admitted that the most important of all Parliament's functions, the *control of finance has virtually disappeared.* The Great Civil War was fought in order that public expenditure could be controlled by the elected representatives of the people. There is no such control now. The Executive is all-powerful. —The so-called supply days are a farce.....During my eight years in Parliament I have missed few of these supply days and I shall not be challenged by any politician who knows the facts when I say that for purposes of *controlling expenditure* supply days are utterly useless and a pure waste of time.

Grievances are discussed, it is true, usually in a really empty House, but as soon as the voting takes place even a reduction of £100 is invariably resisted accordingly. The whips are put on and every member voting knows that the defeat of the Government will be followed automatically by a General Election. It has grown up into an established Parliamentary tradition that a defeat on supply means the resignation of the Government."[1]

It would not perhaps be pertinent, so far as our present discourse is concerned, to enquire as President Lowell has done, how far this usurption of the function of financial control by a cabinet is in consonance with the principle of complete cabinet responsibility or how far it can be relaxed or the Parliament may be given some voice if not in the actual determination of financial policy at least in effecting minor economies in the estimates consistent with efficiency in administration. The fact remains however that all effective control of the finances of the nation has slipped out of the hands of the representatives of the people in Parliament. The elaborate procedure employed in passing the financial proposals of the Government, so far as its original

[1] "The Decay of Parliament" by Lt.-Col. J. M. Kenworthy in Fortnightly Review, July, 1927.

purpose, *viz.*, check on the Executive is concerned, is a huge farce. Reality of popular control depends much upon the nature and degree of accountability that the Executive body at any particular time owes to Parliament and people. It is the constant vigilance of an everwatchful and exacting British public and press that keeps the cabinet from playing ducks and drakes with the public fund. We may now turn to other countries.

From the system of unified control and responsibility in England in respect of finance we may pass on, by way of contrast, to one of complete irresponsibility and disorderliness in U. S. A.

The fathers of the American constitution in their excessive zeal for separation of powers created a wide gulf between the Executive and Legislature, oblivious of the practical difficulties involved in the process. Necessary as some amount of co-operation is between the Executive and Legislature in the field of legislation and administration it is all but absolutely indispensable in the administration of finance. In the interests of uniformity and coherence in the fiscal system as also for the effective exercise of popular control it is desirable that the threads of the system should be gathered up at one point and responsibility should be concentrated. But unfortunately in U. S. A. both these essentials of sound finance have been completely lost sight of. In America there was erstwhile no such thing as "Budget" or a plan of financial administration embodying all proposals for taxation and expenditure for the whole year. Proposals for expenditure might come in, from any quarter of the House, the practice of "logrolling" being rampant. These proposals or bills embodying them did not pass through one common channel but were diffused among a number of committees to be considered piecemeal without reference to each other. So until all these committees had reported to the House, none could have an estimate of the total amount of expenditure or revenue for the year. Naturally the principle of cutting the cloth according to the coat—just the reverse of which is applicable to domestic finance—could not be applied. Measures of

taxation were devised from every other consideration but of "balancing the budget." But for the fact that U. S. A. is fortunately placed in respect of her finances, usually enjoying surpluses—thanks to her high protective tariffs and growing economic prosperity—the system of financial administration would have driven her headlong into total bankruptcy. The wartime experience with national expenditure soaring high amply brought home to the American people the defects of her fiscal system. The cry was raised for "efficiency and economy." There was a drift towards the English system. Some amount of centralisation was introduced by the "Budget and Accounting Act, 1921." It has been provided by this Act that estimates of expenditure as well as receipts for the coming financial year compiled by the heads of Departments should be laid before the "Director of the Budget" an officer appointed by the President without *Senatorial confirmation*, for an indefinite time. He should draw up something like a budget statement in collaboration with the heads of departments with an eye to the balancing of the receipts and disbursements. This is transmitted through the President to the House which again refers it without debate to the Committee of Appropriation. The latter body distributes different classes of proposals among a number of sub-committees which prepare bills embodying the proposals in the form in which they are accepted. The bills are finally reported back to the House to pass through the remaining stages of an ordinary bill. But unlike most other countries U. S. A. has given the Upper House substantial powers with regard to money bills. After the House has passed the proposals of the Executive, the Senate may effect changes in them through its "Budget" and Finance committees. From this brief analysis of the procedure, it would appear that though some amount of centralisation has been effected so far as the machinery for financial administration is concerned, yet responsibility has not been concentrated and necessarily therefore control is divided.

(To be continued.)

AKSHOY KUMAR GHOSAL

A MANX POET

(A Few Notes on T. E. Brown and His Poems.)

There are few more delightful places to spend a holiday than in the Isle of Man. The Manx folk are most interesting and congenial, and I have spent many happy hours among them. It was here, two and a half years ago, that I first made the acquaintance of T. E. Brown's poetry.

The Isle of Man lies midway between England and Northern Ireland. It is quite small, being only thirty miles in length by about twelve miles in width. By catching a fast boat from that famous English sea-port Liverpool I can be safely deposited in the Isle of man within three and a half hours.

Douglas is the capital town of the island. It boasts its own Parliament, and conducts its affairs in pretty much its own way, although, of course, it is controlled in all higher points by British Authority.

It was in Douglas, in the year 1830, the fifth day of May, that Thomas Edward Brown first saw the light of day; he was the sixth of ten children. His father, the Reverent Robert Brown, was incumbant of St. Matthews Church at the time of which we are speaking, but when young Thomas was two years old he was made Vicar of Kirk Braddan, which lies in the rear suburbs of Douglas.

It is not surprising that such a deep foundation of soulfulness was laid to Brown's poetry when we pause to consider the atmosphere and environment in which he was reared. The son of a reverent gentleman, he grew up to be a pure deep-thinking man with a soul ever responsive to all that is beautiful in life.

All that was good and beautiful in the character of the father was inherited by the son. When young Brown was old enough to be put to learning he was taken under the wing of the parish schoolmaster to be trained as a scholar, but it was

Brown's father who taught him the elements of Latin, and fired within him that love for beautiful literary style that hall-marked his career throughout. For many years after this Brown's life was almost entirely devoid of incident, until, at the age of fifteen, he had progressed so well at school that he was sent to King Williams College. In 1849 he left King Williams College for Oxford, where he was admitted to a servitorship at Christ Church.

This was a tremendous step to Brown. Christ Church meant a different type of procedure to the College at Castletown. After taking a Double First in 1853, which, he afterwards remarked, caused him much mental agony and an amount of bitter mortification, owing to the fact it was considered to act as a bar to his being elected a student, he reached the "summit of an Oxford man's ambition" in the following year when he was elected Fellow of Oriel. Shortly after having this distinction conferred upon him he returned to the little village of Castletown in the Island as Vice-Principal of King Williams College.

In common with many other poets Brown was passionately devoted to Music; this was an art that he had cultivated from quite a young lad. He admitted once that he knew of nothing that gave him more pleasure than a quiet ramble over the Keys after an absence of two or more months.

In 1857 Brown married his cousin Miss Stowell, in Kirk Moughold Church, and for ever afterwards Brown places Kirk Maughold first in his sacred reminscences entitled Epistola ad Dakyns.

Four years after this happy event Brown returned to England and went to Gloucester where he was made headmaster of the Crypt School. He was never happy in this new role at the Gloucester School, and soon he was yearning for his native Island declaring himself as one of "the most patriotic exiles it could boast."

He spent twenty-eight years at Clifton, where he made

great friends of many that he met there, both masters and boys. In 1892 his health gave way, and he returned to his native isle where he recovered, to some extent his normal health again. Although he was certainly more happy in the environment of the Manx atmosphere, he confessed frequently that he still entertained a warm feeling for the languid beauty and the tranquility of Clifton, and he has left us many verses in proof of this; his Lynton and Clevedon verses make very beautiful reading. It is hard to single out any one poem for notice, but the second verse of 'Lynton to Perlock' is well worth a perusal even if only for the deep fervent tone which the poet has employed:—

Sweet breeze that sett'st the summer buds a-swaying,
Dear lambs amid the primrose meadows playing,
Let me not think!
O floods, upon whose brink
The merry birds are maying,
Dream, softly dream! O blessed mother, lead me
Unsevered from thy girdle—lead me! feed me!

Whilst the beautiful simplicity of number one of his Clevedon verses leaves nothing to the imagination, the peace, the loveliness, and the sacredness of a summer day at Hallam's Church is all there.

A grassy field, the lambs, the nibbling sheep,
A blackbird, and a thorn, the April smile
Of brooding peace, the gentle airs that wile
The Channel of its moodiness.....
While Joy, with busy fingers, weaves the woof
Of Spring.

There are, as I have said, many of these English verses, all of which should appeal to readers of every type.

In the suceeding years of his retirement Brown demanded peace and freedom, so much so, that when he was offered the Archdeaconry of the Isle of Man in 1894 he refused it, "At some

cost," he said, "I have purchased my freedom, and I will not lightly part with it.....I must be free—free to do what I like, say what I like, and write what I like within the limitations prescribed by my own sense of what is seemly and fitting. Literature is my calling.....with this in view I need absolute freedom, freedom to go to church, or not to go to church, freedom to commune with local preachers, freedom to smoke a pipe in a Manx public-house...in short—absolute freedom!"

He had his freedom, and enjoyed it, but not for long. Quite suddenly on the evening of October 29th, 1892, he died whilst addressing the boys of a Manx school on the subject of "The Ideal Clifton," a subject to which, in later years, he had grown very attached.

His poem 'Poets and Poets' is only an attempt to display the great depths of his own heart, and as we read it we are at once aware of the wide range of vision that was his to scan at leisure:—

He fishes in the night of deep sea pools,
For him the nets hang long and low;
Cork-buoyed and strong; the silver-gleaming schools
Come with the ebb and flow
Of universal tides, and all the channels glow.
Or, holding with his hand the weighted line
He sounds the langour of the neaps,
Or feels what current of the springing brine
The cord divergent sweeps,
The throb of what great heart disturbs the middle deeps.

In the verses which he has entitled 'Clifton' we see the deep yearning for his Manx home that forever gnawed at him inwardly whilst he was away, and I think a few lines are worth repetition here:—

I'm here at Clifton, grinding at the mill
My feet for thrice nine barren years have trod;
But there are rocks and waves at Scarlett still,
And gorse runs riot in Glen Chass—thank God!.....

There is no silence here; the truculent quack
Insists with acrid shrieks my ears to prod,
And if I stop them, fumes; but there's no lack
Of silence still on Cairraghyn—thank God!

It would seem that Brown had a hatred of Clifton, or, indeed any part of England, but it is only characteristic of the man, that he should with the deep favour and pride of a Manxman count all else beside his own wee country as naught. And it is only characteristic of him that after returning to the Isle of Man he should turn loving thoughts to Clifton and to other English villages and towns where he spent his time, and that these loving thoughts should be modelled and tenderly formed into exquisite verses.

There is much more that I could say about Brown's poems, and there are very many quotations that I could make for your interest, but I would prefer you to obtain the complete book and read them through at your leisure, it can be obtained from Macmillan & Co. who have branches in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

But before I close this little article on Brown and his poems I should like to say a few words about his narrative lyrics 'Mary Quayle: The Curates Story' and secondly 'Bella Gorry: The Pazon's Story.'

Nothing so interesting as these has come my way for a long, long time. The text is built up on so sure a foundation, that in the case of "Bella Gorry' for instance, the glory and sacredness of womanhood is carried to a divine belief on the part of the poet to such an extent that it is consciously communicated to the reader, whilst its lyrical passion is the sounding of divine music. The commencement of 'Mary Quayle' opens in a way that commands the whole-hearted interest of the reader:—

We went to climb Barrule,
Wind light, air cool,
But when we reached the crest
That fronts Cornaa,

A black cloud leaned its breast
Upon the bay.....
Then Richard said—
"This is the place—
"Long years have fled,
"But still I see her face.
"Just where you are she was—yes, just here—
"I had long thought she loved me; but you know the fear—
"Had thought—but now by that sweet word made bolder
"I cannot tell;
"Only her dear head fell
"Upon my shoulder,
"And she looked up into my eyes—and this
"Was our first kiss"

And so he goes on to unfold the tragic story of Mary Quayle, who was betrayed by a gentleman visiting the Isle of Man. Then just a little bit from Bella Gorry to whet your appetite:—

.....Until, one night
Passing among the bents, I heard a cry
As of a child, and heard the murmured song
Wherewith the mother sought to quiet it—
And this was Bella Gorry. Round her rose
The swelling sand-heaps; it was in September,
A star-lit night. A fence of sods uptorn
Encompassed her; and she had hollowed out
The sand, and made such shelter as she could.
But it was cold and she had bowed her head
Over her babe, herself to sleep inclined—
And still the cry, and still the drowsy croom.

Bella Gorry is truly a beautiful narrative lyric embodying the true passions and thoughts of the Manx people. Neither of the narrative lyrics I have mentioned are without their touch of pathos, for they are both closely identified with human emotion and waywardness.

There still remain his Dramatic Lyrics to be noticed, of which 'Peggy's Wedding' in my opinion stands out from the rest, although, of course, they are all good, written, as they are,

in the Manx style of language. I will content myself with a last quotation from 'Peggy's Wedding' :—

"Aw dear! aw dear! aw the craythur! aw poor Peggy
What's the matter with you now?
Come in! come in! the sowl! the sowl: (the soul)
What is it, Peggy, what? and where have you left Dan Cowle?
Is he outside in the street? well where is he then?
Did you call at the half-way house? did he get—aw bless these men!
.....Don't be foolish Peggy, we'll have a cup o' tea
Then you'll tell us.
Why Dan Cowle! Dan Ballabroo!
A decent man, and well-to-do!
Dan! Dan Cowle! dear heart!
And the beautiful ye went away in the cart!
And you've tuk and left him! left Dan!
Left the man!

In nearly all of his poetry Brown breathes the spirit of his country, it is inseparable from his character, and from his soul, and no man had a greater soul than Brown. He was beloved by all who were fortunate enough to come into contact with him. His voice was rich and deep, he possessed the most kindly eyes anyone could wish to see, along with a tender, though perhaps, ironical mouth. He loved rambling through the countryside above all things, although he was very fond of such sports as boating and bathing.

He possessed wild spirits and liked plenty of fun at the right time, but beneath his boisterous attitude there was a calm demeanour ever ready to show itself at the appropriate moment. He was very modest about his poetry, he knew its true value, and possessed a quite assurance of its future prosperity. He rarely spoke about his poems for he believed that they were but the words of God, not his own, and that he was the medium God had chosen to convey them to mankind, but, at the same time, he fervently hoped that they would be read and appreciated by all manner of people, irrespective of colour or creed.

LELAND J. BERRY.

THE PROBLEM OF A SECOND CHAMBER IN INDIA

II

Now once the powers of the future Senate are defined, we must see as to how it may be constituted. At present it has a bare elective majority and a strong minority of nominated and official elements. To give the permanent civil servants any seat in the legislature is inconsistent with the principles of representative democracy and the Parliamentary practice all over the world. It is an unhealthy anomaly in India which can be explained only by the present transition stage of its political evolution. Hence in the future constitution of the country this anachronism should be avoided and all permanent officials rigidly excluded from the legislative chambers. As to the element of nominated non-officials again, it may be safely said that it has not stood the test of experiment in any country. Nominated members whose only constituency is the Government House never show the candour and independence which are the real virtues of a parliamentarian. In Italy and in Canada the system of nomination has met with a miserable failure. And here in India it has incurred a specially bad odour about it. By whichever Government a man may be nominated, he is not to expect any confidence of the people. His independence would be impugned, his motive would be questioned. Even a nominated member of the character of Mr. N. M. Joshi, who has an invaluable record of public service behind him and whose conduct in the Indian Legislature has been uniformly efficient and patriotic, is not always trusted by the people. He is after all a nominated member. Tradition associates servility with Government nomination. It cannot be washed off so easily even by hard public work. Under these circumstances, it will be a folly to retain the system of nomination for constituting any

part of the future second chamber.[1] If this House is to have a useful career it must have the confidence of the public. And if it is to win this confidence it must be formed otherwise than by Government nomination. The example of Canada and the experience in India should be an eye-opener to us in this respect. The theoretical merits of nomination need no longer have any glamour for the framers of the future constitution of India.

The Senate of the reformed legislature of India will be an elective chamber. But how will it be elected? That is a problem which it has been attempted to solve differently. The lower House will of course be elected by universal suffrage. If the Upper House also is elected by the same voters, it may become merely a duplicate of the former and as such an unnecessary clog in the wheel of legislation. Again if it is elected on the basis of a narrow franchise there is the danger of its being constituted by "obscurantists and people belonging to special classes whose chief aim is to protect their own interests and obstruct all liberal measures."[2] "Direct election to the Senate can thus only result in either a replica of the lower House or in producing a reactionary body representing some vested interests only."[3] Placed on the horns of this dilemma the Nehru Committee seeks an escape from it in the principle of indirect election. It recommends that members of the Senate should be returned by the legislatures of the provinces.[4] In making this recommendation, the Committee seems to be conscious of all the merits of indirect election but it ignores all the pitfalls of the system which experience in other countries has brought out into relief.

[1] Sir Sivaswami Iyer is an advocate of a mixed system of election and nomination. He thinks the system of election will not bring the best men into the house. The presence of certain public men on the Senate may be desirable but they may not be persuaded to face the election. If, however, nominated, their services will not be lost to the public. See Indian Constitutional Problems, p. 141.

[2] The Report of the Nehru Committee, p. 94.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 94.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 94.

It takes into consideration the intelligent and select character of the electorate which is likely to choose the right kind of men for the Senate, "men who may not care to face the shouting and the tub-thumping which a modern democratic election with a wide electorate involves."[1] It also considers the fact that this electorate will be restricted, but it "will not be based on status or vested interests or class. It will presumably reflect the temper of the mass electorates in the country."[2] And finally it takes into consideration another advantage which will accrue from the system—an advantage that we should not lose in view of the federal character of the future Indian constitution. "Provinces as such will be directly represented in the central legislature and provincial view-points will be expressed in the Senate."[3] The second chamber of the central legislature will, in other words, be a House of the provinces—a contingency desirable and essential in a federation. In the United States and Australia, election to the Senate is now direct. But to maintain the character of this body as a House of the States, the voters throughout a particular state vote as one constituency in the Senatorial election. This makes the constituency too large a body and the election correspondingly arduous and difficult. Unless the party organisations are rigid and perfect, it becomes almost impossible for a candidate to run his election campaign. In India, many of the provinces are far larger in size and greater in population than the Australian and the American States. The election undertaken on the same lines will hence involve greater expense and far greater difficulty in this country. Party organisations are not yet fully developed. Only one party organised to some extent on a modern basis is in the field. The candidates, run by this party will therefore command a great advantage over their opponents. It is even doubtful

[1] *Ibid*, p. 95. [2] *Ibid*, p. 95.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 95.

if they will have any rival at all.[1] Under these circumstances Section 28 of the Independent Labour Party's Bill does not commend itself to us. It provides that "each province shall be a single constituency for the purpose of the election of Senators." It, in fact, wants to introduce the Australian and the American System in India. But the experiment is not likely to succeed. The candidates run by the only organised party in the country will sweep the elections and the Senate will be nothing but a Committee of this party. The other political view-points will go by default. They will not have any chance of being represented in this chamber.

While thus the principle of direct election does not fit in with the circumstances of the country the indirect method, recommended by the Nehru Committee is also not without its dangers. Its advantages have been recounted but its pitfalls have been ignored. For one century and a quarter this principle of Senatorial election was maintained in America. The arguments with which the Nehru Committee now advocate this system seemed also authoritative to the fathers of the American Constitution. They thought that elected by the pick of the people only the pick of the candidates would be returned to the federal Senate. They were convinced as well that election by the State legislatures would bring out prominently the true character of the Senators as the representatives of the State and not of the people. All these theoretical arguments notwithstanding the system did not succeed in actual operation, and it had to be replaced by the present method of direct election. It is not unlikely that history may repeat itself and the same method of electing Senators may be attended with similar results in this country. Of course, the circumstances are not quite similar here as those in the U.S.A. In the latter country, the Senators hold the strings of patronage in their hands and are as such a

[1] Already in the elections to the Legislative Assembly where the constituency is a "Division" of a province or now and again two "Divisions," the non-Swarajist candidates suffer from a great handicap. In many cases they do not dare to face the electors.

source of authority and power to the party to which they belong. Senatorial posts, hence, were and are still looked upon as prizes by the political parties and they stake a good deal on the winning of these positions. In this country, however, the authority of the Senators is to be limited to their legislative functions alone. No other patronage and extraneous power will attach to their situations. It is therefore not expected that the interests of the provincial legislatures will be very much subordinated to the election of central Senators. The interests involved being minor, it is not likely that wholesale corruption of the American type will be transplanted to this country. The principle of indirect election advocated by the Nehru Committee may therefore be given a trial.

Next we have to consider as to what class of people should constitute the federal second chamber. Any and every body should not be at liberty to stand for Senatorial election. The candidates must have certain qualifications as to their age and residence. Nobody who is not a *bonafide* resident in a province should be allowed to stand from that province. As to the age of the candidates twenty-five [1] seems to be too low a limit for the House of Elders. In France no person below forty can by law go to the Senate and in the U.S.A. none below thirty can be a Senator. The Irish Free State has cut out a *via* media between these two limits and provided for an age limit of thirty-five for the Senators. This golden mean will also fit in with Indian conditions. In this country people have a veneration for age. Hence it will be unwise to send callow youths to a House whose chief merit will consist in sobriety and moderation. At the same time it must be remembered that in this tropical climate the efficiency of man deteriorates earlier than in Western countries. It will be therefore equally unwise to extend the age limit so far as to make indispensable the choice of men whose brain has already become soft.

[1] At present the age limit of the members of the Council of State is twenty-five

The next point with regard to the constitution of the Senate is concerned with the number of Senators to be allotted to each province. The federal system will of course demand an equality of representation. The principle that all the component parts should be equally represented on the Senate has been observed in the U.S.A., Australia, and Switzerland. That was, in fact, the *sine qua non* of the Union. The smaller states would never have agreed to enter the federation but for this safeguard. Thus to-day we find Delaware has as many representatives on the Senate as New York, and Queensland has as many members on the Australian Senate as New South Wales. In Canada, of course, this principle of equality of representation on the Federal Second Chamber has been practically given the go-by. True, the four naturally differentiated tracts of British North America have twenty-four members each on the Dominion Senate. But some of these tracts include within them provinces which are very unequally represented on the Senate. Almost all the drafts on the future constitution of India accept this unequal system of Canada; none of them give the provinces an equal membership in the Senate. "In view of the great difference in size and population of our provinces," observes the Nehru Committee,[1] "this principle of equal representation of all provinces may not be desirable." The unequal system has also been in vogue for the last nine years in India. The people hence have been to some extent habituated to it. Nor has any province demanded equal representation in this chamber. Besides, whatever might have been the attitude of the people of America, Australia and Switzerland at the inception of their unions, to-day they do not look upon the Second Chamber as the protector of the state-rights. The Senate, in fact, nowhere divides on state lines. The principle of equality has thus lost much of its force. It is now only an irrelevant historical survival. It will not be worthwhile to imitate this dead principle

[1] The Report, p. 95.

in India. "The extent of the representation granted to the different provinces must therefore be proportionate to their population."[1]

Under the Reforms the central legislature is a bicameral body but the provincial legislatures are monocameral in structure. The joint authors of the Indian Constitutional Reforms discussed the possibility of a bicameral legistature in the provinces. But at the time (1918), they found the impediments to such a legislative organisation too many and too strong. They thought that proper materials were not available for the composition of a provincial Second Chamber. Only the landed and the monied interests might be represented in this body. They would, however, make the Upper House too effective a barrier against all liberal legislation. The joint authors hence decided against a double-chambered legislature for the provinces. But this they did not think to be the final solution of the question. They kept the door open for the reconsideration of the problem in the future.[2] Accordingly the Government of India Act[3], 1919, provides for the examination of this question by the Statutory Commission which has now been appointed.

Now-a-days the Second Chamber no longer holds a place of sanctity as it once used to do. It is looked upon now more as a cumbersome addition to the administrative structure than as a shrine of political wisdom. It is at best now a necessary evil. Hence, unless its utility is proved beyond doubt, it should not be embarked upon. If it is proved that a unicameral legislature cannot properly discharge its business and if it is proved as well that the addition of an Upper House will not further complicate the solution, then only a bicameral body may be ventured upon. Otherwise it will be too costly a constitutional luxury. The provinces in Indian federation will never enjoy very wide power. It is now almost a universal belief

[1] Sir Siva Swami Iyer, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[2] The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1918), para. 258.

[3] Section 84 A. subsection (2).

that the interests of the country will be best served if the allocation of power between the central and provincial Governments is made on the Canadian model. This will make the provincial Government as to-day the legatee of delegated powers only. The provincial legislature is therefore not expected to be overburdened with work. Its task will be comparatively light. For the discharge of these minor legislative functions, a double-chambered body is by no means essential. In Canada all the provinces except two have a unicameral legislature. Nor are the people there feeling at all the necessity of a revising House. A single legislative chamber has shown no less a sense of responsibility and moderation than the bicameral bodies. In India also, the provincial legislative Councils have been up to the task entrusted to them. They have no doubt thrown out the budgets and compelled the Governors to "certify" them. They have indeed refused assent to some Government bills and goaded the Governors to pass them over their head. But all these they have done, not overtaken by a sudden gust of passion.[1] These steps do not speak against the sober sense of the popular representatives. They were taken only out of a cool caculated policy. The Congress party in India looks upon the reforms as a hollow sham. It accordingly refuses co-operation with it. The powers of the Legislative Council are only imaginary and shadowy, while the Governor has been invested with all the real authority. This is a fact which must be brought home to the people and the position of the Governor in the provincial constitution should be brought out into clear relief. This has been the policy of the representatives of the people, a policy not hastily improvised but deliberately undertaken. It is by way of carrying out this policy that the Legislative Council in many places and on many occasions refused to vote the supplies and pass the laws as desired by

[1] A writer has alluded to these facts to prove that "gusts of passion have often submerged the sober sense of the representatives of the people." See the "Statesman" of Calcutta, the 26th October, 1928.

the Government. It deliberately left it to the Governor to restore the 'cuts' and certify the bills. It cannot hence be said that the Legislative Council acted in an irresponsible manner in these matters. Its sense of responsibility was, in fact, brought out in immense degree when some controversial measures were on the legislative anvil. When the Bengal Tenancy Act came up for amendment, radicalism was in the air. People were demanding from all parts of the province a complete overhauling of the tenancy system. If the Congress opposition in the Council lent any ear to this demand, the land-holding interest in the country would have been almost ruined. But an atmosphere of give-and-take was created instead in the Council Chamber and a measure was passed that improved the status of the ryot and maintained at the same time the interest of the zemindars. A similar attitude of compromise had been taken up by the Council several years earlier with regard to some provisions of the Calcutta Municipal Bill. Over the question of separate communal representation, the Bill almost met with ship-wreck. But soon reasonableness returned and a compromise between two opposing groups was arrived at. And the Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, is now looked upon as one of the achievements of the reformed Legislature of Bengal. The above two instances point out clearly that given the real responsibility, the Legislative Council knows how to discharge it with care, good sense and moderation. Past experience does not point to the ghost of a chance of any injustice being done to any community or class. Nor does it yield any precedent of any radical legislation being hastily undertaken and carried through by the majority in a fit of passion. Where any controversial question is involved, hastiness has, in fact, never been the characteristic of the Legislative Council. People have rather sufficient ground of complaint against the tardiness of its action. The problem of Bengal Tenancy which had been hanging for quite a long time was taken up seriously by the Legislative Council only after eight years of the new regime had passed by. A Bill to

amend the tenancy system was no doubt introduced in 1925 in the Council by the late Maharaja of Nadia, then Revenue Member of the Government of Bengal. But some of the provisions of the Bill were taken exception to by a class of the people. Accordingly the circulated Bill was withdrawn and time was given to the people for a dispassionate consideration of this vital problem of the province. After about two years when it was supposed the thoughts of the people had settled down, a new Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill was brought into the Council. Amended and modified by the Legislative Council, it became an Act in 1928. Little opportunity was thus given to the play of passion and heat. There are some other problems like the spread of Primary education, reorganisation of the Calcutta University, reform of the moffassil Municipalities and District Boards, which demand immediate attention of the Legislature. Legislations on these subjects are hopelessly out of date. But during the past nine years, the Legislative Council made no progress towards solution of these questions. Twice during this period bills on the reconstruction of the Calcutta University were introduced in the Council. Nothing however, came out of them. A Primary Education bill was also initiated but met with a similar fate. They were all by nature controversial measures and the Council proceeded only at a snail's pace with them. It did not take any rapid decision in these matters lest any group representing any particular interest and viewpoint in the province should feel wronged and unjustly treated. If hence the Council erred, it must have erred on the side of tardiness and not of hastiness. It breathed more the spirit of *status quo* than the spirit of change. Now despite all this if another chamber was added to the legislature that will amount to a permanent veto over all charge.

There are some people, however, who never see with eyes open. They scent dangers in places where nothing is possible. The British Indian Association of Calcutta demands a second Chamber in the provinces, the powers and constitution of which

"should be similar to those of the Council of State."[1] The Associated Chambers of Commerce[2] and the European Association of India[3] also demand the institution of a revising chamber in the provincial legislature. All these public bodies represent special interests in the country. It is not unnatural that they should be a bit nervous as to the activities of the future legislature endowed with greater authority and power. It is intelligible that they should like to make the passing of a new law difficult by the creation of a checking and vetoing chamber. But in their apprehension as to the future, they take no stock of past experience. They forget that the addition of a second chamber will make the passing of a new law not only difficult but practically impossible. It will be in fact a stumbling block in the way of all liberal legislation. If, as the British Indian Association demands, the membership of the Upper House is recruited mostly from the landed and industrial aristocracy, it will be only a class body as the Council of State predominantly is to-day. It will think only in terms of the special interests it may represent and will resist the slightest attack upon them with all its fury and vehemence. This will take away considerably from the merits of this body as a revising chamber. The Upper House will look upon itself as the opponent and rival of the popular Assembly and as a result a constant tug-o'-war will ensue between the two parts of the legislature. Again, if the second chamber be a nominated body,[4] it will be equally useless and mischievous. We have seen already that the principle of nomination, nowhere successful, is the least desirable in India. However constituted, the second chamber is sure to be a nuisance in the Indian provinces. It is only idle to think that "second chambers will on the whole

[1] Memorandum to the Simon Commission.

[2] Evidence before the Simon Commission.

[3] Memorandum to the Simon Commission.

[4] The Bengal Committee of the European Association wants a Second Chamber of thirty members nominated for life. (See its memorandum to the Simon Commission.)

be found useful as checks upon the undue haste of the popular Houses."[1] If such chambers are unwisely set up at all they will only obstruct the legitimate duties of a legislature. In fact, all this bicameral plan "is too cumbersome for provincial Government."[2] Even in federal Unions, where the component states enjoy the residuary powers, and the State legislatures have to discharge heavy duties, bicameralism seems to be out of fashion. It is a principle altogether discredited now so far as these legislatures are concerned. In Australia, the two legislative chambers in the States are constantly at feuds and it is only to get out of an eternal tangle that Queensland has taken to unicameralism since 1922. It will be, therefore, an unredeemed folly to transplant to India a principle that is being worn off as useless and mischievous by other countries.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY.

[1] Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Indian Constitution, p. 155

[2] Lionel Curtis, Dyarchy, p. 444.

KṢAṆABHANGAVĀDA

OR

THE BUDDHIST DOCTRINE OF FLUX (OR MOMENTARINESS OF THINGS)

The whole universe of reals has been classified by the Naiyāyikas under two exclusive heads, *viz.*, Kṛtakas (products or perishable) and Akṛtakas (non-products or imperishable). The Vātsīputrīyas, an independent school of Buddhism, however, have grouped all realities under two classes, *viz.*, Kṣaṇika (momentary) and Akaṣṇika (non-momentary). Whatever principle of classification be adopted, the conclusion is inevitable that non-eternal entities must be momentary, as they are perishable by their very nature and constitution. Now, if a thing is perishable by its very nature and constitution, it will perish in the very next moment of its birth independently of the service of an external agent. If, however, it is not constitutionally perishable, it must be imperishable and no amount of external force, that may be brought to bear upon it, can make it cease to exist, as a thing cannot forfeit its own nature and assume that of another and yet continue to remain the same entity as before. And there is no medium between momentary and non-momentary, the two classes embracing the whole universe of thought and reality. To suppose, therefore, that a thing may be perishable by its very nature and constitution and yet must be dependent upon an external agent to bring about its destruction, involves a necessary absurdity.

It has been urged that as a thing is seen to perish in a determinate place and time, its destruction must be contingent upon an extraneous cause and so long as this destroying agent does not appear, it will naturally continue to exist. The hypothesis of spontaneous destruction is opposed to

experience and hence unacceptable. There is no absurdity in supposing that a thing may be perishable by nature and yet may be dependent on an external cause for its destruction, quite as much as a seed, which, though possessed of a natural aptitude for producing a sprout, is seen to effectuate a sprout subject to its association with water, wind, soil, and the like and not independently. Experience also shows that hard metals like copper and the like are liquefied, when impinged upon by the flames of fire, but revert to their pristine condition of hardness, when the heat communicated by fire is withdrawn. A jug continues to exist until it is crushed by the stroke of a club. So the dialectic of natural constitution—that if a thing is perishable by its nature it will perish by itself—should be accepted with a qualification, in the light of experience, *viz.*, as subject to action by a destructive agent.

The whole argument of the opponent, however, is vitiated by a misreading of facts. The analogy of the seed is pointless as the seed *per se* is not the cause of the sprout, but the particular seed-entity, vested with sprout-producing effeciency, that emerges in the final stage immediately before the sprout is produced. The hard copper is no firm and obdurate entity but is in continual flux; and when associated with the subsidiary causes, fire and the like, it gives rise to another distinct entity liquid in nature and when other circumstances supervene, the liquid moments disappear and hard moments manifest themselves. The theory of an external, destructive agent, on the other hand, gives rise to logical complications. The destructive agent, requisitioned for the destruction of an entity, can be posited if it has any effect on the thing to be destroyed ; but this effect will transpire to be illusory on examination. Well, what can be the nature of this effect? Is it the production of another entity or non-existence of the previous entity? On the former alternative, a destructive agent has no useful function, as a thing is brought into existence by its own, proper cause, which is the immediate, antecedent entity. And to say that the

cause of a succeeding event is the cause of the destruction of the previous entity is to say that destruction is self-caused and spontaneous, which is our position. The second alternative that the destructive agent causes non-existence of the previous entity is equally untenable, as only an entity can be produced and non-existence being produced will be an entity—which is absurd. And if this supposed non-existence is identical with the thing that is produced, the cause of destruction as distinct from the previous entity need not be postulated. Moreover, the destructive agent must be supposed to produce an effect on the thing to be destroyed. And is this effect something distinct from the thing on which it is produced or not distinct? If distinct, it will not destroy the thing, as there is no relation between the two. On the latter alternative, it is useless as nothing new is produced. Aviddhakarṇa, an old Naiyāyika, whose opinions are frequently quoted in the Tattvasaṅgraha, but who has been entirely forgotten by the later Brahminical writers, has taken strong exception to the Buddhist position that destruction is spontaneous. He argues, destruction is neither contemporaneous with, nor antecedent to, an entity, but a subsequent event occurring in the next moment, as the Buddhist would have it. And so being an event occurring at a determinate point of time it must have a cause and cannot be spontaneous.

Uddyotakara has attacked the Buddhist position in the following arguments: if destruction is uncaused, it will be either non-existent like a barren woman's son or an eternal entity like ether (ākāśa), as no medium is possible between the two. If it is non-existent, all entities will be eternal, as they will not be subject to destruction and consequently the conception of perishability of all composite bodies will be an unfounded myth. If it is eternal, it will co-exist with all entities—an absurd position, as existence and non-existence, which is the connotation of destruction, are mutually contradictory. If co-existence is denied, there will be no birth, as eternal destruction will preclude all production.

All these objections, the Buddhist rejoins, proceed from a confusion of the meaning of the word, 'destruction.' Now, this word, 'destruction', can have two possible meanings—in the first place, it may mean the fluxional nature of all entities; in the second place, it may connote absolute cessation of existence (bhāvasvarūpa-nivṛtti). Destruction in the first sense does not connote any negative idea; it only implies that things are in a state of continual flux, that an entity endures only for a moment, yielding place to another entity emerging into being. So if destruction means the fluxional nature of an entity, it does not militate against our position, as we also admit it to have a cause, but as the cause is inherent in its own constitution and nothing foreign to its nature, we style it uncaused. But this fluxional character is nothing distinct from the entity itself and as such cannot be regarded as a subsequent event in regard to its own self, although there is nothing to prevent it from being conceived as a subsequent event in regard to the immediately preceding entity. Destruction in this sense exists and accordingly the conception of the perishability of composite bodies (saṁskṛta) is not an unfounded illusion.

Destruction, in the sense of absolute cessation of existence, is, however, an unreal fiction. Pure negation is an abstract idea and has no existence and so cannot be an event, which means the coming into existence of an entity which was previously non-existent. It is as unreal as a sky-lotus and to affirm existence, previous or subsequent, of it is an absurdity. When we say that there is a cessation of existence, we only mean that a thing passes out of existence and not that non-being exists or occurs. It is a meaningless expression. What we seek to establish is that cessation of existence in the sense of pure non-being cannot be an objective category. So the contention of Uddyotakara that the negation of non-being will entail eternal existence of all entities falls to the ground, because all reals being fluxional in nature will pass out of existence

in the second moment without any gratuitous help from an external entity. The whole contention of Uddyotakara proceeds on the assumption that negation is an objective category, but, as we have seen, it is only an ideal fiction and not a concrete fact, as the Nyāyavaiśeṣika school postulates.

The whole allegation of Uddyotakara, that all uncaused entities are either eternal verities or non-entities and negation being an uncaused fact will be eternal, has no force against the Sautrāntika Philosopher. The Sautrāntika does not admit any eternal, uncaused category. The Vaibhāṣikas, however, allege that there are three eternal verities, *viz.* ākāśa (space) Pratisaṅkhyānirodha (dissociation of the mind from impurities effected by transcendental knowledge) and Apratisaṅkhyānirodha (non-emergence due to absence of causes).[1] But these Vaibhāṣikas are not regarded by us as the true followers of the Buddha. They are grouped along with the other heretical schools of thought, *viz.*, the Naiyāyikas and the like. The Sautrāntikas, who maintain the doctrine of universal flux, have no place in their scheme of realities for an uncaused category. These so-called eternal verities are ideal fictions (sāṁvṛtas), pure and simple. Uddyotakara in fathering this doctrine upon the Sautrāntikas only betrays his inorgance of the Buddhist position.[2]

As regards the so-called non-perishable entities such as space, time, God and the like, they are mere fictions of imagination and do not exist as objective realities, as the connotation of reality is causal efficiency (artha-kriyākāritva) and no causal efficiency is predicable of them. And if these be real entities, as you claim, they must be momentary existents, as causal efficiency is predicable only of things that are momentary.

[1] The import and nature of these three eternal categories of the Vaibhāṣikas will be elucidated in the chapter on Nirvāṇa.

[2] 'Yaccoktam akāraṇaṁ bhavato dvidhā nityam asacceti, tat para-siddhāntānabhijñatayā, yato nyāyavādināṁ bauddhānām akāraṇam asadeva.....ye ca Vaibhāṣikā ākāśādivastu sattvena kalpayanti, te yuṣmatpakṣa eva nikṣiptā na śākyaputrīyā iti na tanmatopanyāso nyāyāt'—Kamalaśīlā pañjikā, p. 140, Tattvasaṁgraha.

No other definition of reality except causal efficiency can be logically sound. Let us examine the definitions of reality as proposed by the Naiyāyikas. Sattāsambandha or sattāsamavāya (participation or co-inherence in universal existence) is not a tenable definition, as samavāya is a form of relation and all relations are unreal. And even if it is allowed, universality (sāmānya), particularity (viśeṣa) and co-inhesion (samavāya) which do not participate in the universal, will have no existence. Nor is the attribution of a *sui generis* existence to each of them a clever hypothesis, as this means too many different types of existence. Moreover, these tentative definitions are confuted by the following dilemma: Is this *sui generis* existence (svarūpasattā) something different from existence as such or not different? In the former alternative, it will be non-existence and the categories concerned will be unreal. In the latter, the *sui generis* existence will be unmeaning, as there is nothing to differentiate it from existence as such and the categories will be lumped into one. So also with regard to the other categories, *viz.*, substance, attribute and action. If they are identical with existence as such, there is no excuse of their being regarded as separate categories and if they are different, they will have no existence of their own. So we see that the very categories of the Naiyāyikas are reduced to unreal fictions by his own definition.[1] The poor Naiyāyika finds himself in the predicament of defining existence as one that is 'existence,' which amounts to a confession of failure.

But what does demarcate such unreal fictions as a rabbit's horn and the like from things which are real? Well, it is causal

[1] The universal (sāmānya) cannot participate in any other universal, as this will lead to infinite regression. The universal too cannot be attached to particularity, as in that case the particular will cease to be particular, if it becomes universal in any form. Co inherence is regarded as one, indivisible, eternal relation obtaining between the universal and the particular, substance and attribute, part and whole. There can be no universal relating to this entity, as the idea of the universal presupposes a number of concrete individuals sharing in it and as samavāya is one, the question of its universal cannot arise. See Tarkāmṛta.

efficiency alone and as these fictions cannot possess any causal efficiency, they must be set down as unreal. An objection has been raised that reality cannot be supposed to consist in causal efficiency, as causal efficiency exists even in such unreal fiction as a sky-lotus and the like. These fictions certainly generate an impression in the mind and thus have causal efficiency in that respect, but they cannot be accepted as real on that account. Moreover, in dreams and illusions, unreal things are seen to have practical efficiency. The false snake in the rope is as much a cause of trepidation as the real one, and sometimes a man is seen to develop all the symptoms of poisoning and on some occasions to die, because he was falsely persuaded that he was bitten by a snake. And a dream-elephant is seen to be as powerful as a real elephant of our wakeful experience. If you make causal efficiency the sole test of reality, you will be painfully obliged to accord reality to those fictions.

The Buddhist replies that predication of causal efficiency relates to an objective reality and does not include subjective fictions. In dreams and illusions the objects, that are experienced, are not real, objective facts, but are evolved from the imagination. The contents of these experiences are but the objectified memory-impressions and have no existence, outside the experiencing mind. It will be a sheer perversion of facts to apply to these mental fictions the standard of reality, which belongs to objective facts. Such unreal fictions, as sky-lotus and the like, are purely subjective facts without any objective reference and as causal efficiency has been postulated as the test of an objective reality, it cannot have any application to these fictitious representations of the imagination. When we deny causal efficiency to those ideal fictions, we deny it in the sense of their being objective realities. All these objections could be enforced if we held with Kumārila and the Naiyāyikas that illusions and dreams were conversant about realities.[1] But

[1] Kumārila holds that even memory and dream-experiences contain an objective reference like perception. The contents of these experiences are real, objective facts,

according to our theory these experiences are purely subjective and are absolutely devoid of any objective reference. Causal efficiency therefore stands unrefuted as the test and definition of reality, as reality cannotes real, substantive facts and not subjective fictions.[1]

And causal efficiency is exercisable either in succession or simultaneity and as simultaneity and succession are incompatible with the supposed permanent entity, causal efficiency is restricted to the momentary, fluxional entity alone. One may legitimately enquire: why is it that practical efficiency cannot be predicated of a non-fluxional, permanent entity? Because it is redargued by the following dilemma: Has "your" permanent power of past and future practical efficiency during its exertion of present practical efficiency or no? If it has such power, it cannot fail to execute the past and future actions exactly as it does its present action, because the execution of an action is the inevitable consequence of such efficiency, which it is conceded to possess. And there is no reason why there should be any delay in the effectuation of such actions as the causal efficiency is present intact. The point at issue can be brought home by the following argument: That, which has causal efficiency in respect of anything, does execute that thing without fail, as for instance the full assemblage of causes. And this entity has past and future causal efficiency (and should therefore execute the past and future actions without fail). On the second alternative (if the permanent has no such efficiency of past and future agency), it will never do those actions, as exertion of practical efficiency results from power alone. The privation of past and future efficiency in the permanent can be specifically driven

though in dreams and illusions these facts are presented under a wrong spatio-temporal relation. Nothing but an existing fact can become an object of experience and so the objects of dreams and illusions even are real facts though the spatial and temporal relations are perverted, *cf.* "Svapnādipratyaye bāhyaṁ sarvathā nahi neṣyate. Sarvatrālambanaṁ bāhyaṁ deśakālānyathātmakam." Śloka-vārtika, p. 242.

[1] *Vide* Tattvasaṁgraha, verses 425, 427.

home by the following syllogism : what at any time does not do anything, that at that time is incapable of doing it, as for instance, a gravel is unable to produce a sprout. And this 'permanent' does not execute its past and future actions during its execution of present action (and consequently does not possess the power for the same).

It is proved beyond doubt that this supposed 'permanent' has present practical efficiency, but it does not of a surety possess its past and future efficiency. And as co-existence of efficiency and non-efficiency, two contradictory qualities, is not possible in a single entity, the conclusion is irresistible that the present entity is distinct from the past and the future entity and is thus fluxional. It may be urged that causal efficiency may exist in a thing without the effect being produced and this is confirmed by the fact that the seed in the granary is regarded as the cause of the sprout, though the sprout is not immediately produced. But this objection is based upon a misconception. In ordinary parlance, a remote, possible cause is said to possess causal efficiency. But this is a loose, popular conception and cannot be made the basis of a philosophical enquiry. In reality, however, the cause of the sprout is the peculiar seed-entity that immediately and invariably produces the sprout. The seed in the granary is regarded as the cause of the sprout only in view of its remote possibility. So there is no room for confusion between a real cause, which is immediately and invariably attended with an effect, and a remote, possible cause, which can be regarded as a cause only by courtesy.

But the Naiyāyikas and other realists demur to accept the position of the Buddhist set forth above. They urge that fluxional cause could be accepted if the invariable concomitance of causal efficiency with momentariness was established. But this is impossible. It is quite plausible that a permanent entity, though it is the sole and sufficient cause, can exercise its causal efficiency only in conjunction with subsidiaries and as these subsidiaries occur in succession, successive execution of past and future

actions is not incompetent to a permanent cause. The cause does not independently produce the effect as it develops its causal efficiency only in association with its subsidiaries. The production of the effect is contingent upon the co-presence of the subsidiaries and so does not take place when the set of subsidiaries is absent. The presence and absence of the subsidiaries, however, do not at all affect the real nature of the cause, as the cause is entirely distinct from them.

The co-presence of subsidiaries, the Buddhist observes, is an idle hypothesis. If the permanent develops its causal efficiency on its own account and is not at all assisted by the subsidiaries, the latter become absolutely useless. And if the peculiar effect—producing efficiency, that manifests itself in the last moment, is identical with its past nature, nothing can prevent the production of the effect.[1] If this nature is a different one, you cannot claim the previous entity as the cause. And if you suppose that the cause has not undergone any mutation, production becomes impossible, as its previous inefficiency will persist. But it may be contended that the permanent entity is one of the causes, and not the sole and sufficient cause. It is the entire collocation of causes (sāmagrī) that produces the effect and not the cause alone, however powerful it might be. The relation between cause and effect is not one of mutual necessary implication (anyayoga-vyavaccheda), but non-separation with one term lying independent (ayogavyavaccheda) as in invariable concomitance (vyāpti). Thus, as in vyāpti the probandum can exist without the probans, though the probans cannot, so also a cause can exist independently of the effect, though not the effect. And in this conception of causal relation the popular view and philosophers' estimate do coincide.[2]

[1] *Vide* S. B. N. T., p. 27 ll., 6-9.

[2] Tasmād vyāptivat kāryakāraṇabhāvo 'py ekatra anyayoga-vyavacchedena, anyatra ayoga-vyavacchedena avaboddhavyaḥ, tathaiva laukika—harīkṣakāṇāṁ sampratipatteḥ (*Op. cit.*, p. 37).

Vyāpti is the invariable concomitance of the probans (middle term) with the proban-

Well, we Buddhists, have no quarrel with you on the point that several factors combine to produce a self-same effect. What we contend for is that a permanent cause cannot *ex hypothesi* stand in need of any auxiliary factors. If the invariable efficient or inefficient nature of the permanent continues, there will be either production or non-production of the effect for all times. So there is no logic in the position of the upholders of the permanent entity that it is the full collocation of causes and not a single cause, that is productive of the effect. We have it from experience that several causal factors combine to produce a self-identical effect and we do not challenge this position. But the point at issue is whether the 'permanent' undergoes any mutation or not. If there is no mutation, either production or non-production will be inevitable, as indicated above. If however the pemanent mutates, it ceases to be permanent. And this dilemma is unavoidable. No reliance again can be placed on recognition (pratyabhijñā), on the strength of whose testimony the unchanged identity of the cause could be established. Recognition is an unsafe guide, as we see there is recognition even in the case of growing hair and nails and the like. Apparently therefore the relation of cause and effect is one of mutual necessary implication and not non-separation with one term lying independent; as the Naiyāyika affirms. The analogy of vyāpti is inapplicable, as vyāpti is a relation between two concepts and not entities and as concepts are remotely related to reals, the relation is found to congrue with facts. But the cause, you posit, has a real existence as distinct from conceptual

dum and this is the very ground and *conditio sine qua non* of all inference. This relation is stated in the major premiss of Aristotelian syllogism, in which the middle term is invariably distributed, though not necessarily the major term, which may be taken in its entire or partial extension according to circumstances. Accordingly Vyāpti has been spoken of as of two distinct types, to wit, (1) samavyāpti in which the two terms are co-extensive and (2) asamavyāpti, in which the prabandum is of wider extension than the probans. The contention is whether the relation of causality is of necessity one of co-extensive concomitance or may be a relation of unequal extension with one term wider than and hence independent of the other. The Buddhist maintains the former view and the Naiyāyika affirms the latter possibility with emphasis.

existence.[1] An objection is sometimes raised in this connection that as there is no permanent entity, according to the Buddhist, he cannot have any experience of such, much less can he make it the term of a syllogistic argument. And if he has direct or indirect experience of such permanent entity, he cannot consistently deny his own experience. When he asserts that the 'permanent' cannot have causal efficiency, he admits the existence of the permanent and cannot deny it without contradicting himself. The objection is a frivolous one, but will be dwelt on at length in a separate section, because the Naiyāyikas have made capital out of this. Suffice it to say here that the permanent in our syllogism is a hypothetical entity and not an experiential fact. What we mean by the 'permanent' is this: if the nature of causal efficiency, that is evinced in the subsequent entity, be the same with the nature of the previous entity, or if the inefficient nature of the previous entity be identical with the efficient nature of the subsequent entity, there will be either production or non-production of the effect always. So we do not go beyond our experiential data, as the efficient and the non-efficient momentary entities are real objective facts. What we seek to prove is that there can be no identity between the two entities on pain of either of the undesirable issues, *viz.*, constant production or non-production.

It has been sufficiently proved that a self-sufficient permanent cause can have no need of auxiliaries, which can have no function. If however these auxiliaries are supposed to really assist the main cause, they can have a legitimate function and can become necessary. But if they assist, they will produce some suplementation (atiśaya) in the causal entity and the question naturally arises as to the nature of its relation to the causal entity. Is this supplementation something distinct or

[1] Tasmāt sākṣāt kārya-kāraṇabhāvāpekṣayā ubhayatrāpi anyayogāvyāvacchedaḥ. Vyāptau tu sākṣāt paramparāya kāraṇamātrāpekṣayā kāraṇe vyāpake ayogavyavacchedaḥ kārye vyāpye anyayogavyavacchedaḥ.....vikalpārūḍharūpāpekṣayā vyāptau dvividham avadhāraṇam. SBNT., pp. 38-39.

non-distinct from the thing on which it is produced? If it is distinct from the causal entity, then this adventitious supplementation will be the cause and not the non-fluxional entity: for the effect will follow, by concomitance and non-concomitance, the adventitious supplementation.[1] In this case, causal efficiency will be possible only in the momentary, fluxional entity and not the permanent, which the opponent has sought to prove. If the supplementation is considered to be non-distinct, that is to say, identical with the permanent causal entity, we ask whether the previous inefficient nature continues or ceases to exist. On the former alternative, there will be no production, as the previous inefficiency will operate as a bar. On the second alternative, the previous inefficient entity has ceased and a new entity indentical with supplementation, designated in Buddhist technology as Kurvadrūpa (effect-producing object) comes into being and so the cause becomes fluxional.

The hypothesis of the permanent cause as discharging successive functions in association with successive subsidiaries has transpired to be illusory. But there may be another alternative, *viz.*, that a permanent entity exerts its several causal efficiencies all at once and not in succession. But this will not stand the following dilemma: This 'permanent,' endued with the power of producing all its effects simultaneously, either continues to exist or does not continue after production of its effects. On the first alternative there will be production of all its effects just as much at one time as at another. On the second, the expectation of its permanency is as reasonable as expecting a seed eaten by a mouse, to germinate.[2]

But the Naiyāyika will perhaps seek shelter under his precious theory of samavāya (co-inherence)—a relation, which, they claim, has the miraculous efficiency of harmonising identity

[1] "Tasmin sati hi kāryāṇam utpādas tadabhāvataḥ, Anutpādāt sa evaivam hetutvena vyavasthitaḥ." T. S. Kar, p. 400.

[2] Dvitīye sthāyitvavṛttyāśā mūṣikabhakṣītabījādāv aṅkurādi-jananaprārthanām anuharet. SDS., p. 24.

with difference. Certainly the subsidiaries produce some supplementation in the permanent causal entity, but this supplementation, though a distinct entity, coinheres in the causal entity and thus becomes a part and parcel of its being. But the question naturally arises that if the supplementation in question is some thing distinct, how can it have a relation with the basic entity without producing another supplementation. And this second supplementation, too, being a distinct entity, will hang loose and can be connected with the help of another supplementation and so on *ad infinitum*. The co-inherence theory thus transpires to be a dodge to take in the credulous, unenquiring fellows. But the never-ending series of supplementations is not the only difficulty in the theory of successive subsidiaries. There are many-sided regressions in *infinitum*. There will be infinite regressions of all the factors involved in production. Thus, the seed, the subsidiaries, and supplementation are the three necessary conditions of production. We have seen that there will be a never-ending series of supplementations and these supplementations can be produced with the help of subsidiaries. And these subsidiaries can be of help if they produce supplementation in the supplementations themselves—otherwise they will not be required. Thus, there will be an infinite chain of supplementations afforded by the subsidiaries. So with regard to the basal cause and so with regard to the subsidiaries in their mutual relations. It is plain, therefore, that nothing can be explained by relations, as these relations will for ever fall apart and infinite regressions in each and every case will be inevitable. But the theory of flux is wonderfully immune from these difficulties—as it does not posit any relation at all. The factors being momentary units stand self-contained and self-sufficient.

Relations are requisitioned to harmonise permanence with change, but we have seen how they fail. Permanence and change, being mutually contradictory, cannot be made to constitute a harmonious whole even by virtue of these relations, which have been exposed to be hollow devices.

Trilocana,[1] the teacher of Vācaspati Miśra, contends that the whole controversy of the Buddhist turns upon a false basis. The permanent cause is absolutely independent of the subsidiaries, and is not at all assisted or benefited by them. It is the effect which is so benefited being dependent upon the subsidiaries as it cannot come into being if the set of subsidiaries be absent. For causal power (sāmarthya) is of two kinds: natural and adventitious, the latter consisting in the presence of subsidiaries. There is no logical difficulty, therefore, that the cause does not produce the effect always, as the requisite power constituted by the subsidiaries is lacking. But this is mere shifting of the ground. How can the effect, which is not yet born, have any necessity for the subsidiaries? We could accept this view, however, if the effect could independently come into being. But then the subsidiaries and all that they connote become unavailing. If the effect is independent, how can the seed be the cause? And if the seed is the cause, why should it fail to produce the effect? Nor is it supposable that the effects are perverse and sometimes do not come into being inspite of the causes, as in that case they will not be the effects of those causes. But it may be contended that a particular entity is regarded as the effect of a cause, not because it happens when the cause is there, but because it disappears when the cause disappears. But this interpretation of causal relation is indefensible. Logically we can set down the absence of the effect to the absence of the cause, only if the presence of the effect is dependent upon the presence of the cause. Otherwise the effect will be independent of the cause and the disappearance

[1] From frequent references to and quotations of opinions of Trilocana made by Ratnakīrti in his treatises on 'Ahoha' and 'Kṣaṇabhangasiddhi, it can be legitimately inferred that Trilocana was an author of repute and he must have written either a commentary or an independent standard work on Nyāya philosophy. It is certainly a pity that all his works are lost. That Trilocana profoundly influenced Vācaspati Miśra is not open to doubt, as the latter has recorded his debt to the former in unmistakable language. (*Cf.* Trilocana, guṇūnnītamārgānugamanonmukhaiḥ | yathāmānam yathāvastu vyākhyātam idam īdṛśam | Tāt. Ṭ., p. 133).

of the cause will not entail the disappearance of the effect. So the presence of the cause must be invariably followed by the presence of the effect, just as much as the absence of it is followed by the absence of the other. Otherwise the so-called cause will cease to be the cause at all.[1] Nyāyabhūṣaṇa however, contends that the argument, that a cause should discharge all its future functions even while it discharges its present function, because the future causal efficiency is present in it at the time, is a case of plain self-contradiction just like the statement—'My mother is barren.' How can the future causal efficiency function in the present? If it did, it would cease to be future efficiency. Certainly causal efficiency for blue cannot result in the production of yellow.

The contention of Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, Ratnakīrti observes, is but a mere jugglery in words. If the permanent cause possesses permanent causal efficiency, why should it function at some future time and not in the immediate present, on the basis of which future efficiency is postulated? The opponent may answer, 'because, we see it actually functioning in the future.' Yes, but as this is incompatible with its permanency, you should regard it as momentary. You cannot suppose that it is the nature of the permanent to function in the future, because such supposition is logically absurd. A thing is supposed to have a particular nature only when there is logical necessity for such supposition; and no hypothesis, however convenient, can be accepted if it violates the canons of logic.[2] Again, as the theory of Permanent Cause fails to explain facts and on the contrary introduces logical complications, which are insurmountable, the theory of flux should be adopted as it is the happiest possible explanation of the world of reality.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

[1] "Tadbhave'pi na bhāvaśced abhāve' bhavitā kutaḥ. Tadabhāvaprayuktaśca so'bhāba iti tat kutaḥ." SBNT., p. 41.

[2] SBNT.., pp. 41-42.

References—T.S., śls 350-546
SBNT.—pp. 20-53.

LOVE

(Translated from Balaram Das)

What elements did
Thee compose, my Love!
In thee was hid
What theme,
That I often wake to find
Thou art but a dream!
Pity them anon
That to thee compare
The white-faced moon
Dark-spotted in the center;
Woe to the lightning
Dissolv'd in Heaven's purest nectar,
That's aspiring
To stand as thy best compeer!
Dear, if I sit
At thy feet
Ten thousand days and nights,
Looking at thy face
With unswerving gaze,
My eyes cannot turn to other sights!
Thy safe keeping,
To my heart,
I cannot trust
Lest thou melt'st like vapour;
Alas! who from my being
Sever'd thee,
To make of me
A thing that is restless for ever!

ABANI CHATTERJI

THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

The most interesting of the many curiosities which are scattered through the galleries and private collections of Europe is the Bayeux Tapestry. It is a piece of embroidery 231 feet long and 20 inches wide and tells the story of the Norman Conquest in 72 scenes. It is the oldest picture extant of English history, and may still be seen in the Norman town of Bayeux. It is worked with worsted on linen, like a sampler, in eight colours, red, yellow, black, dark and light blue, dark and light green, and buff. It is not definitely known by whom it was worked but it is probable that Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, half brother of William, had it made in order to decorate his Cathedral. This supposition is borne out by the fact that Ode and his men figure prominently in the Tapestry. Another tradition states that it was worked by Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror. A third story has it that Adela, his daughter, was responsible for the work. There are 623 men and women, 762 animals, and 37 buildings in the Tapestry.

Its importance can best be realised by a comparison. Let us suppose that in the course of time the inhabitants of this country lost all record of the Great War, except for a few legends and then, perhaps an old scrap-book was found containing pictures cut from our daily newspapers with nothing but the title of the illustration, but complete from the Defence of Liege to the Armistice.

If William the Conqueror, at Senlac, eight hundred and sixty-three years ago, had not defeated the English under Harold Godwinsson, we, and our cousins across the Atlantic, would speak a different language and be governed by different laws and customs. A large proportion of the readers of this article have ancestors who fought on one side or the other in

1066. Of that battle and the events leading up to it the Tapestry is a careful record. The chroniclers tell of events which are interesting historically and also of events which took place in the domestic life of England and Normandy.

The term " Bayeux Tapestry " is really incorrect, for it is an embroidery on linen cloth and not a tapestry. The linen, which was probably unbleached, is now a shade of brown holland. It is divided into horizontal lines, thus forming a centre and two borders, the former being about thirteen inches wide. It is in this central portion that the action takes place, while the borders are devoted to birds, animals, and fishes, although occasionally pictures from Æsop's Fables are introduced. Yet again men are seen ploughing, harrowing, or fowling. The work in the border is not generally of so great a merit as that of the centre portion.

Odo appears at least four times in the Tapestry and several of his vassals, otherwise quite unknown, are introduced. The Tapestry itself was exhibited in the Cathedral of Bayeux until the time of the French Revolution, being stretched round the nave on certain feast days. Since the time it was worked it has survived numerous adventures. In 1106 the church was burnt down. In 1562 it was pillaged by the Huguenots. In 1792 it was proposed to cut the Tapestry into strips to provide covers for the carts of the revolutionary army, but fortunately wiser counsels prevailed. In 1803 it was taken to Paris to inspire the people to a fresh conquest of England. On its return to the town of Bayeux it was wound on two cylinders in the Town Hall and in order to inspect it, it was necessary to wind it from one to the other. In this way it became very frayed, but it was not until 1842 that this was remedied and it was then displayed to the public under glass. When, in 1870, the Prussians advanced, it was removed to a place of safety but was returned upon the conclusion of the war.

The design of the central portion of the Tapestry is divided into scenes or compartments, the separation being made by

trees or buildings. A Latin caption tells the story of the picture in a few words. For example :—

Hic Willelm: Dux alloquitur suis : militibus : ui preparense : viriliter et sapienter : ad prelium : contra : Anglorum exercitu :

Which translated means, "Here Duke William exhorts his followers to prepare themselves manfully and discreetly for battle against the army of the English."

Thus we see that the Tapestry is the story of the Conquest told from the Norman point of view.

In the Tapestry the following are mentioned by name :—

King Edward, Harold, Duke William, Guy of Ponthieu, Conan, Archbishop Stigand, Bishop Odo, Eustace of Boulogne, Robert of Mortaine, Leofwine, Gyrth, Turold, Wadard, Vital and Aelfgyva.

In the first compartment King Edward the Confessor is seen, seated on a cushioned throne. His crown is on his head and he holds his sceptre in his hand. He wears the full beard which was at that time becoming unfashionable both in France and England. His long white hands, mentioned by the historian, William of Malmesbury, can easily be seen, as he raises a finger to the two figures who stand before him. They are dressed in short tunics and long hose, with cloaks draped round them. The latter fact is a clear indication that they are nobles, and in all probability are Harold and a companion taking leave of the King before setting out for France. Both have moustaches only, a custom which was peculiar to England, for the Normans went clean-shaven.

In the next scene they ride to the coast ; Harold goes first, with a hawk on his hand, and his dogs running beside him. He attends a service at a church, and afterwards is present at a banquet before he sails. The feast takes place in a large hall, supported by round arches, and with a tiled roof. Some of the guests drink from cups and the others from horns. When the meal is finished they scend some steps to the water

and take off their hose. They then wade out to the ships, carrying their dogs under their arms.

The ships are long galleys, propelled by sails and oars, with the bows and sterns high, and capped with a figurehead in many instances. The sails hang from a long yard, which keeps a horizontal position, not holding one end much higher than the other, as do the lanteen sails of the Nile. Along the gunwale of each galley the shields of the warriors are displayed, lapping over each other to form a bulwark.

Land is soon seen from the masthead and the ship is run on a beach and the anchor thrown over. Here Harold is seized by Guy, Comte de Ponthieu, and imprisoned in Beauraine le Chateau. Later he is ransomed by William, who takes him to Rouen, where he receives him in audience in a great hall, surmounted with eighteen pillars. Harold, the only Englishman present, seems to argue with William. The next scene is shrouded in mystery. It shows a woman, against whose face a man is laying his hand. The only words of the caption decipherable read "Here Ælfgyva and a clerk."

In the next scene we see the continuation of William's campaign against Conan, Duc de Bretagne, and the siege of Dol. Conan lets himself down on a rope from the walls and escapes to Dinan, where he is again besieged, and where he eventually surrenders.

It is worthy of note that on the journey to Brittany Harold saves several Normans from the quicksands by Mont St. Michel. Below in the border we see fishes eating those who have been sucked into the sands.

After chasing Conan from Dol, William laid siege to Dinan. We see the Normans on horseback and in armour advancing towards the outer defences of the town. Javelins are thrown by both sides and two knights leave their horses and their pennoned lances and advance to the walls and set fire to them. On the other side of the picture Conan surrenders the town. He reaches the keys on a lance from the walls to an officer below who receives them in the same manner.

Immediately after the siege and surrender of Dinan we have a scene with the inscription "Here William gave arms to Harold." This incident, with its laconic caption, is capable of two explanations. It may be merely the gift of armour, or, and what is more likely, it may be the ceremony of conferring knighthood.

The campaign was now ended and the Normans returned to Bayeux. It was here that the famous oath was taken from Harold.

The most probable story of the affair is that of the twelfth century Norman who wrote:—

"Harold first proposed to marry Ele, the Conqueror's daughter, and to surrender England to William upon the death of Edward. This Harold offered to swear to, and William assembled a great council at Bayeux for the purpose of hearing the oath. He then collected all the relics he could find—the bodies of the saints—and filled a tub with them. Over the tub was thrown a silk cloth so that Harold should not know what it contained. On the cloth was laid a reliquary, the most precious that could be found. When Harold stretched his hand over it his flesh crept and his hand trembled. Then he swore and pledged himself, as was dictated to him, to marry Ele, the Conqueror's daughter, and to the best of his ability, surrender England to William upon Edward's death, so help him God, and the holy relics that were there. When Harold had kissed the relics and had risen to his feet, the Duke led him to the tub and took off the silken cloth which covered it and showed Harold what was within, and on what relics he had sworn, and he was struck speechless when he saw."

We shall never know the true story, for Harold stands between two altars and extends a hand to each—whether he was forced to make the oath over the holy bones or whether he did it willingly, whether he knew of the bones or whether he believed that he swore on the reliquary. It is all a matter of surmise and speculation.

After taking the oath Harold returns to England. We see his boat on the Channel. From the terrace of a Castle a watchman, shading his eyes with his hand, watches for the ship. Harold and a companion ride to London and are received by the King.

Next we see Westminster Abbey, in the building of which Edward had greatly interested himself. The original building has been entirely rebuilt but we can see what it was like from the tapestry. A long nave of round arches, a central tower, an apse, and transepts are shown in the tapestry. On the roof a man is engaged in setting up a weather-cock.

Towards the Abbey Edward's funeral cortege is advancing. The bier is carried by eight laymen and followed by a party of clergy. One carries a Bishop's crook and the others have books. Beside the bier boys are carrying bells, one in each hand. The body itself is wrapped in a shroud and shaded by a canopy.

The artist then turns back and depicts the death-bed scene. The cushion on which Edward's head is resting is held by the chief] officer of the household, Wymarc. On the further side of the couch stands the Archbishop, and at the King's feet sits Queen Edith and weeps. Nearest the spectator is a kneeling figure, Harold, destined to be the last of the Saxon kings. Edward speaks and names him as his successor but accompanies this by a prophecy of woe. Thus the old king passed away.

The Witan, or Parliament, assembled at Westminster and Harold was proclaimed king without delay. In the tapestry two nobles are seen offering him the crown. Harold accepts.

We see Harold on his throne. On one side of him is the Archbishop and on the other two nobles, one of whom carries the sword of state. The crowd thronging the ante-chamber bend down in deference to the new monarch but another group point to a comet, since identified as Halley's, which blazes in the sky

and which they regard as a sign of the Divine anger with Harold.

In another building we see Harold again. He is listening with a worried face to a messenger who has evidently brought bad tidings.

The cause of Harold's fears is shown in the following actions:—

An English ship crosses the Channel to Normandy. William sits in his palace; he has heard the news and prepares for war. By his side sits his half-brother Odo. A carpenter, carrying an axe, receives the orders of the Duke. On the other side of William a Norman gesticulates wildly but is ignored. Next we see workmen felling trees and shaping the planks which are to be used for the construction of the boats. The ships are long and low, rising at bow and stern. The next scene shows us the victualling and arming of the vessels.

The Normans waited for days for a favourable wind and at last, when they had prayed before the relics of Saint Valerie, they were able to leave on the 27th of September, 1066.

The Tapestry shows us the brightly painted hulls, the coloured sails, the bucklers along the gunwales, and the men and horses looking over the side of the ships across the waves.

Next we see the landing of the troops, the horses taken from the ships, and the reconnoitring parties which are sent out.

For a time the invaders were undisturbed, for Harold had marched north to fight another invading army under his brother Tostig and Harold Hadrada of Norway. Thus William landed unopposed at Pevensy and marched to Hastings, erecting a fortified camp there.

On the afternoon of the 13th of October the English army, which had advanced from the capital, was drawn up on the hill of Senlac, some seven miles from Hastings. A strong position had been chosen and Harold fortified it with a ditch and a palisade, together with the shields of his warriors. All the Saxons fought on foot while the chief strength of the Normans lay in

their cavalry. In the middle of the long and narrow hill Harold took up his stand, surrounded by his brothers, his own personal followers, and the flower of the army, the men of Kent and the citizens of London. They were armed with lances, javelins, swords, and the terrible fighting axe. On the flanks were the raw recruits, with armour and carrying pitchforks and light lances.

The next day William rode at the head of his army to attack the English position, while at his side rode his half-brothers, Odo and Robert of Mortaine.

The Tapestry shows the Normans on the march from Hastings. A scout announces the nearness of the English and the Duke tells his followers to prepare for the battle with sagacity and manliness. The knights flourish their lances and the archers draw their bows. The horsemen charge the English square and arrows and javelins fly through the air. The fury of the battle increases and both Norman and Saxon fall fast. The border below is full of dead men. We see the raw English churls fighting bravely. A panic ensues amongst the Normans for it is said that the Duke has been slain, but he rises in his stirrups and shows his face. At this point the peculiar Latin of the Tapestry says, "Here Odo, the bishop, comforts the boys." The Normans return to the charge and the archers are ordered to shoot in the air. The English lift their shields to cover their faces and the Norman swords find room to strike. The veterans who surround the king and the standards commence to fall. An arrow strikes Harold in the right eye and soon afterwards he is killed by a Norman spear. We see him fall, the battle-axe dropping from his lifeless hand. One standard is taken while another is trampled under foot. The English churls fly and the picked soldiers fall rapidly. The Normans pursue the flying English and in the darkness they plunge into a morass and are turned upon by the fugitives. The place for long afterwards bore the name of "Malfosse."

ARNOLD C. BAXTER

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH AT THE ALL-INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE

I thank you most cordially for having given me this opportunity of talking to you about the future of the medical profession in India. I regret, on account of pre-occupations and the shortness of time, my address is apt to be discursive. You will perhaps find that I have left out many things I should have mentioned and I ask your indulgence and help in filling up the lacunæ.

The All-India Medical Association, as you are aware, was established for the purpose, amongst others, of organising the members of the medical profession in order " to secure the promotion and advancement of allied sciences, maintain the honour, dignity and the interests of the medical profession and secure the co-operation between the members thereof." In pursuance of this object we have met this evening to consider the various problems affecting the profession as well as the various laws already enacted or legislative measures about to be adopted, which might seriously affect the medical profession, medical education or the health of the people of this country. Its membership is open to persons having registrable qualifications in India or " persons who have such medical qualifications as may be from time to time recognised by the Association suitable for such membership." We want to bring together and organise the whole profession, not merely those who profess and practise a particular system of medicine. Our purpose is to secure co-operation amongst all persons whom this Association may consider suitable for membership. Should we restrict the membership to such persons only as follow the Western system of medicine or open the door to all those who have, in different parts of the country, practised any other system with repute and success? If we take medicine merely as a science it may be argued that only those who are trained on scientific methods

prevalent in the West should be eligible to be members. But to my mind it is taking a very narrow view of the whole matter. On the other hand, if we define science as a systematised branch of human knowledge we cannot ignore other systems. I have no doubt whatsoever that there was a time when the ancient practitioners in medicine—those who elaborated the Ayurvedic system centuries ago—possessed accurate knowledge of the nervous system, of the vascular system, of the changes in pulse in different diseases and their knowledge of pathology, such as we understand it, was of high order. Speaking in the Imperial Legislative Council, 1916, Sir Pardey Lukis, the then Director-General said :—" I resent strongly the spirit of trade-unionism which leads many modern doctors to stigmatise all Vaids and Hakims as quacks and charlatans. We allopaths are just emerging from the slough of empiricism. The longer I live in India, the more intimate my connection with Indians, the greater will be my appreciation of the wisdom of the ancients and the more will I understand that the West has still much to learn from the East." Other eminent observers also have spoken in a similar strain. Therefore it is not for us to cut off from the past system but it is necessary to re-suscitate them, to develop them. If we desire to do so, we cannot afford to keep out the Vaid and the Hakim. We cannot ignore them. It is true that the knowledge in those systems has been handed over from father to son in the form of Sutras, which were committed to memory. The result was that the bulk of information was compressed into a small compass. In the process of transmission the links are gone, the original is mutilated, accretions have gathered, evidence or data on which the conclusions were founded are missing. What we are left with now are dogmatism and perhaps empiricism. On the other hand, if we regard medicine as an art of healing, who is there so bold as to say that the art is the exclusive achievement of one system ? Considered thus the claims of those not practising the Western system, to be included in the group of

medical practitioners, becomes almost irresistible. I would therefore desire to see included in this Association members who honestly believe in their own system and practise it with a sincerity of purpose.

When we organise or attempt to organise any group of people we do so both for the purpose of attacking and defending. Problems connected with the health of the citizens of this country, with the means of preventing diseases and spread of epidemics, with the method of generating a sanitary consciousness amongst the masses of this country are items which are to be attacked with determination, courage, resourcefulness, hope and faith. On the other hand every one of us realises that we the medical practitioners in India are the victims of circumstances and designs which are inimical to the growth of the profession and we have to defend ourselves against them. In the domains of medical education, medical research, medical relief or prevention of diseases, determined and systematic efforts have been made in the past to keep us in a perpetual state of inaction and stagnation. We are told that our education is defective, that we have no original research to our credit, that our ability to provide relief in diseases is of an inferior order, that we cannot administer institutions established for the purposes of affording such relief, that we cannot initiate and successfully carry out schemes for the prevention of diseases. Assuming for the purposes of argument that this is so, it may pertinently be asked who are responsible for such a state? So far as the members who practise the Western system are concerned, it is clear that the present unsatisfactory condition could only be due to one of two causes. Either the soil was so bad that no crop could grow in it or the tiller was so careless or ignorant that he did not care or he did not know how to achieve success in his work. Who are responsible for the training of our youths in medicine ?

As far back as 1912 and 1913 the members of the Indian Medical Service gave evidence before the Public Services

Commission that "'the standard of medical education in India is low and that the Indian practitioner is unpractical, that the British schools are far more efficient than Indian colleges" and yet in the year 1913 out of 24 appointments in the Indian Medical Service 8 Indians got in by competition and in 1914 out of 35 such posts, 14 were secured by Indians.

We have been blamed because there is no record of research to the credit of the Indian medical practitioner. What is the real root cause? Are Indians incapable of research? Sir J. C, Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Meghnad Saha, Mr. Ramavajan have won world-wide reputation in research without any guidance or tuition from Westerners. Why cannot the Indian medical practitioner equally succeed? In the case of medical research it is necessary not only to be provided with laboratories but hospital facilities also have to be secured. Till within recent years all the larger hospitals in the country were manned by members belonging to the Indian Medical Service. All the research appointments were and still are being held by the service officers. The process of exclusion has been carefully, may I say shamelessly, planned and manipulated that even no Indian of established repute has any chance of getting into the group. As regards the management of large hospitals and institutions, the question of the inefficiency of Indians does not arise, because no opportunity was given to Indians to manage any of the hospitals. The indisputable fact remains that inspite of such obstructive methods and in spite of the handicap due to paucity of funds, two large institutions, one in Calcutta and another in Bombay, have been developed and managed entirely under Indian supervision. It is a decisive argument against the charge of inefficiency attributed to Indians. Studied carelessness on the part of I.M.S. officers in discharging the responsible duties cast upon them, namely, that of developing an Indian Medical Profession, the pre-arranged method of keeping the Indian out of every opening where they could develop themselves, have been responsible for the present state of affairs. Knowledge gives

vision to the blind. But perverse attempts have been made to perpetuate the infirmity.

Whatever may have happened in the past, we have now reached a stage when we, as members of the medical profession in India, desire to fulfil our mission, to develop ourselves and to realise the hope with which we have adopted the career of a physician. We are prepared to profit by the knowledge from the West, but not under conditions in which it engenders hatred for what is Eastern. I am happy to say our goal is getting clearer, that our vision is getting less obscured, that our self-confidence is being restored and the whole of medical profession in India is being linked together by a common bond of faith and hope.

Most of us have been trained in the allopathic system. Let us frankly admit that our teachers have not given us that broad outlook, that deep insight into the medical lore which every teacher ought to inculcate in his pupil. Why do I say that? There is a simple test. No professor belonging to the Medical Services has, ever to my knowledge, trained an Indian student in such a way that he may prove capable in time, of occupying the chair of his teacher. It has all along been a process of safeguarding the interests of a trade union. In order to reserve the posts for the Services, it has happened, that the very same professor has taught subjects like hygiene, chemistry, physiology, surgery, ophthalmic surgery in different periods of his service in India. We cannot conceive of a more monstrous method of imparting medical education in any country. A complaint was made by some I.M.S. officers before the Public Services Commission that in India specialisation in any medical subject was unknown. Who is responsible for this? How can we expect anything else from those teachers who have developed only one form of speciality, namely, the speciality of possessing an overweening self-confidence, the speciality of rejecting all claims of the Indian practitioners to fair treatment, the speciality in belittling everything Indian. The irony lies in the fact that while condemning the Indian practitioners the I.M.S. officer forgets that he is

condemning himself, that he is hoist with his own petard. We know we have been wronged in the past. We do not desire to depend on others. We therefore desire to utilise such powers as the Universities and the Councils of Medical Registration in different Provinces have given us, for the purpose of developing medical education in our own way. It is unfortunate that interested parties have clouded the issues by requisitioning the powerful aid of the General Medical Council and the British Medical Association in condemning our attempts at developing in our own way. The General Medical Council shamelessly rejects recognition of the Indian degrees particularly that of the Calcutta University while they dared not do the same with regard to the London and Cambridge Universities when they failed, even so late as 1925, to give the requisite number of 20 labour cases to each student before appearing at the examination.

Within recent times you must have noticed in the newspapers the attitude of the General Medical Council towards the Indian Universities. It is desirable I should go into this question a little in detail in order to show what this attitude has been. Previous to the enquiry by the General Medical Council, the appointment of the Public Services Commission in 1913 and the Medical Services Committee in 1919 afforded opportunities to the Indian Medical Service Officers to condemn the Indian practitioners. Why did they do so? Did they forget that the I.M.S. had full control of the education of our youths for over half a century? The peculiar methods adopted by the General Medical Council in its enquiry regarding medical education given by the Indian Universities cannot but point to one conclusion, namely, that the President and the Executive Committee of the General Medical Council have been to a great extent influenced in their decision by "*ex parte*" information obtained from interested sources and that they acted as partisans and not as judges. I will quote two examples in support of this contention of mine. The General Medical Council opened in 1921-22 that the training in midwifery in Indian Universities was not

up to the mark. Similar enquiries have been made with regard to examinations held by the licensing bodies in England. Dr. Comyns Berkely in his address delivered in 1926 at the Centenary Congress of Combe lying-in-hospital said that he had ascertained to what extent the Council's latest recommendations had been complied with up to 1925. He found that a large number of schools had failed to comply with the recommendation of the General Medical Council. What recommendations the General Medical Council made to the Privy Council one cannot say but the fact remains that as a matter of "public policy" no steps were taken against them particularly against the Universities of London and Cambridge. It may pertinently be asked whether the General Medical Council recommended for the withdrawal of the authority for holding qualifying examination in the case of these Universities? If not, why not? Why this differential treatment meted out to Indian Universities? Have the General Medical Council no control over the Universities in England? Is it not a fact that under Part (1) of the Act of 1886, the General Medical Council is to "secure the maintenance of standard of efficiency in the English Universities?" Not only can the Council withdraw recognition of the degrees granted by the qualifying bodies but they can also represent to the Privy Council the desirability of withdrawal from such bodies the right to hold qualifying examination. Why was it not done in these cases? I will now quote the second example to show how biassed the General Medical Council had been in its treatment towards Indian Universities. The Council has been from time to time representing to the Government of India and to the Universities that in order to fulfil statutory obligations they claim a right to send Inspectors for inspecting examinations of the Indian Universities. They had actually inspected many of the schools and colleges in India. Instead of working as a partner, with whom reciprocal relations had been established, they have been attempting to guide, control and direct medical education in India. They have examined the curriculum of studies, they have

commented upon the staff and the provisions for instruction of the different institutions in India. When the Calcutta University applied for recognition of its degrees in the year 1890 under Act 1886, Part (2), Mr. Lyall of the Government of India sent back the application to the University asking " for details regarding the degree of knowledge and skill required by the statute for granting the various diplomas." The then Registrar of the Calcutta University, Mr. Nash, wrote on the 15th of October 1890 that " It appears to be unnecessary to enter into details regarding the regulations " and he referred to the pages in the printed regulations where the syllabus was given. The information obtained from the University Regulations of 1890 justified recognition by the General Medical Council and the University was recognised on the basis of this application in 1893. After 30 years the General Medical Council wrote to the Calcutta University saying " that from the information at present in its possession, the Council is unable to recognise for the time being the medical diploma or diplomas of the Calcutta University." Did the Council communicate to the University the nature and source of such information which justified withdrawal of recognition? It is true that in the years 1920 and 1921 the Council wrote to the University asking for information regarding the training in midwifery. It is also true that the Indian Universities, in common with the bulk of the licensing bodies in England, had not enough clinical materials for the teaching of midwifery in accordance with the recommendations of the General Medical Council. But there was no information before the University to indicate that the standard of training in subjects other than midwifery had so deteriorated since 1893 as to justify an enquiry by the Council. When in 1924 Col. Needham wanted to inspect medical examinations the University refused permission. Four years before this, the University had to refuse the request of the London University to supply answer-papers and other details regarding Matriculation Examination and they could not do otherwise with regard to the medical

examinations. What right had the General Medical Council to inspect the examination in order to continue the recognition? Were not the reports and the syllabus published by the University enough? Did they ask for more in the case of Japan and Italy and Australia, whose degrees were also recognised under the provision of the said Act? New Zealand passed an Act in 1924, which laid down that no one was allowed to practise in that country unless they passed a qualifying examination held in it. This was done as a measure of protection against foreign competition. The General Medical Council wrote a letter conveying a threat regarding cessation of reciprocity with that country but had to climb down subsequently. They wrote to the Chairman, Medical Council of New Zealand, as follows :—

" The General Medical Council have no *rights of inspection or visitation of examinations* held outside Great Britain and Ireland but in many cases, for instance, in Australasia, the professors and other authorities concerned are well known in this country and their records are sufficient to guarantee that the work of standardisation they undertake will be well done. The Council examine the *regulations of the several bodies and taking into account the standing of the teachers and examiners recognise themselves which seem to imply a standard of knowledge which is not lower than that required in this country.*" In this letter the Registrar goes on to say that with regard to Italy and Japan also the Council recognise degrees given by the Universities in those countries after careful consideration of the regulations. What can account for a different attitude of the General Medical Council, regarding Indian Universities? The reason given is that " the staff of many Universities is *now largely composed of Indians of whom many have not studied out of India.*" A serious condemnation of the system which has existed in India under the control of the Indian Medical Service for the last sixty years. Within recent times a large number of our graduates have gone to Europe, America and England and obtained distinction and high degrees. Could it be said that the

standard of attainment of the average medical practitioner in India to-day is lower than what it was in 1893?. I do not pause to question the motives of those who want to belittle the value of the degrees conferred by the Indian Universities to-day. New Zealand had broken off, so have Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, etc. Where reciprocation ended, retaliation began. I find in this attitude of the Council " a blessing in disguise." It has shaken us up—wakened us. We were lying stunned, hypnotised. We are now conscious of our helplessness. I trust it will rouse us to action. The withdrawal of recognition and the difficulties of getting into the colleges in England have led a large number of students to go to Continental Europe. When they come back they are naturally enamoured of Continental instruments, machine appliances and methods. India imports about 2 crores worth of goods and stores. Who bring them? We. Who use them? We. Situated as we are, we cannot retaliate as New Zealand has done. But is it difficult to organise ourselves, in the interest of the profession for the purpose of counteracting the malicious attacks on our graduates? Can we not withdraw in a body our orders on British firms so long as the present attitude continues? It is for you to consider this and discuss the details. But mere retaliation wont develop us. We desire no interference from outsiders while we are setting our house in order. We do not want an Inspector sent by the General Medical Council. But we desire the fullest enquiry by ourselves into the methods of teaching in the different Universities. We desire the fullest co-ordination amongst them. We want to raise ourselves in our own estimation and the world is bound to respect us inspite of the detractors.

I now come to the subject of Research. Sir Norman Walker in his report to the General Medical Council said :— " India occupies a prominent position in the matter of research. But it is greatly to be desired that research should be active in many centres, notably the Universities. Where the professors are actively engaged in research, the students' interest in work

is similarly stimulated. Young graduates have opportunities at their doors instead of having to seek admission to the three or four existing research departments. One hopes to see research extended in the scientific and medical laboratories at an early date." Major Bradfield was sent by the Government of Madras to the United States of America in 1921 to study medical instruction in that country. He submitted a report to the Government in which he says :—" excepting perhaps the Rockfeller Institute research and education in America are very intimately connected. The organisation of research departments in India as a separate department is a great loss to the country."

These are the opinions expressed by prominent men. But what is it we find that the Government of India are anxious to do ? It is suggested that an Imperial Medical Research Organisation working in different parts of India should be founded at Dehra Dun. Why Dehra Dun ? It is said that "Chandbagh" is a property lying useless and this could be utilised. So is "Hastings House" in Calcutta. I daresay, there are hosts of others in other big towns. How does Dehra Dun satisfy the test that the Government officials themselves have laid down, namely, that research and education should be organised together. It is suggested that the function of the Institute should be to serve as a centre to collect and bring into proper relations with one another, the result of the medical research work throughout India. It is further suggested that the Institute should be the centre for basic research work. I fail to see how the Institution is to perform its function up in the Hills? Why not have the Institute situated at Lake Manasarowar whence arise the two mighty rivers of India, the Indus and Brahmaputra? The intellectual isolation will be complete and meditation will be uninterrupted. It is preposterous that a scheme should have been suggested of establishing a research Institute away from the biggest centres of medical education, away from the colleges and the institutions where the materials necessary for research would be available. If it were merely a place which

would serve as a bureau of information the matter would have been quite different. But research in medical subjects cannot be efficient unless clinical materials are available. How will it be possible to find sufficient clinical materials in Dehra Dun? I know that it is suggested that in this medical research department there should be 52 posts of which 32 would be reserved for the members of the Indian Medical Service and twenty would be open to non-I. M. S. as well as I. M. S. candidates. If, as has been suggested times without number, the standard of education and qualification of the candidates trained in England is higher than those possessed by Indian graduates, what is the cause of such nervousness? Why is it found essential to reserve certain number of posts in this Institute? Why must they not be all thrown open to the most efficient among the candidates, particularly, when the selection will lie with a body at present composed of service men? Is it suggested that the entrance into a service, which is after all meant as reserve for military purposes, gives any indication of a capacity for research? The Britisher complains that there is a communal jealousy existing in India. Why is there so much anxiety to preserve this communalistic feeling in the profession? Why is this reservation of posts and emoluments? To an average mind it would appear that such provisions can only indicate that the Britisher himself is conscious of his own inferiority and dare not face an open competition. What becomes of his pride and boast that in India his attitude is one of absolute fairness! I hope that you will have no hesitation in condemning this backdoor way of securing a few more lucrative posts for the members of the Indian Medical Service. A few words about the Services: It is unfortunate that in this country men are not appointed to posts but that posts are created for them. This system can be lucrative to a few but destructive where efficiency is concerned. It however causes far deeper mischief. The I. M. S. men are in receipt of big salaries from the State. They have as subordinates also salaried men. Necessarily, the

numbers employed in a hospital have to be limited on account of economic considerations. The salaried subordinate is entirely under the thumb of his superior, not only with regard to routine work but also in matters which demand initiative. His mental vision is restricted. It is thus that the I. M. S. men have secured a cultural conquest on their subordinates. But with what result? It is true that these hospitals manage to dole medical relief just as the system prevalent in 1835. But is the staff sufficient to manage these hospitals on the latest approved system? Tons of clinical materials go to waste in every hospital while the bulk of our graduates are not allowed to take advantage of them simply because the State cannot pay them and the controlling authorities won't have them. India is said to be the land for research. But an insurmountable Chinese Wall has been built round every available centre of research and yet comes the thundering indictment, "Thou hast been found-wanting." There is however another aspect of the question. The people who come to the Hospitals have a right to demand the full measure of attention and treatment based on the result of the latest scientific researches. The people have a right to demand that the students who are taught in these public schools and colleges should have opportunities of gaining experience and skill by being allowed to work in the hospitals. It is only necessary for you and me to get the people on our side and all will be well. I can assure you, gentlemen, the die is cast heavy in your favour. Awake, arise and march forward.

I have heard it said that the I. M. S. is a reserve for military service. I have seen the past and recent communiques of the Government of India and of England. I have noticed that one Secretary of State lays down a scheme only to be nullified or superseded by his successor. We all know that promises made, have been shamelessly broken. Let us not bother about them. Let us be content that we have wrested the bulk of the civil practice from the I.M.S. I do not desire

to enhance the communalistic spirit in the profession but while it is there, we should insist on the units, in the Indian Army at least, being treated by Indian members of the service. If it be conceded for one moment that the European needs his own countrymen for his treatment, may not 50,000 people insist on getting their own countrymen to treat them, unless it is maintained, as a famous Private Secretary of a famous Governor once said to me in discussing this problem: "We can manage to govern very well without the 50,000 Indians but not without the one European."

I now pass on to the third item which I proposed to deal, namely, the fight against diseases, provision for medical relief and the prevention of diseases. It is a sad spectacle to see that while during the last 10 years the birth rate in India varied between 35 to 39 per thousand of population, the death rate varied between 26 to 32 per thousand. If we compare these figures with other countries in the world, we find that during the last ten years the death rate in England has been reduced from 16 per thousand to 11 per thousand,—in Germany from 19 per thousand to 11 per thousand, in France from 20 per thousand to 17 per thousand, and in Italy from 22 to 16 per thousand. Going into the details we find that in England in 1901, the death rate from enteric fever was 11·3 per hundred thousand deaths, in 1926 it was ·9 per hundred thousand. Tuberculosis came down from 174 per hundred thousand, to 96 per hundred thousand, Diarrhœa and Enteritis from 92 per hundred thousand to 21 per hundred thousand. When we come to the preventible diseases in India we find that 230 persons per hundred thousand die of preventible diseases like Cholera, Small Pox, Plague and dysentery. On the other hand, the infant mortality rate in India is as high as 250 per thousand births. In England, it is 78 per thousand births, in Germany it is 132 per thousand births and in France 103 per thousand births. A question therefore naturally arises, can nothing be done to prevent this enormous loss of man power in India, for it must be remembered

that of every 100 persons who suffer from Cholera or Kala-Azar, although 2 per thousand may die, large numbers are maimed for life? It is for you to come to a decision regarding a method to be adopted for preventing diseases. It is not necessary for me to mention that the history of the Government during the past 100 years has been such that we need not look for help or inspiration from the authorities. If we mean to do anything we shall have to do it inspite of the Government. We must organise ourselves. Voluntary organisations have to be formed for social service, for giving aid during epidemics, for the medical inspection of school children, for rousing sanitary consciousness amongst the masses.

I could deal with various other problems in which the Association may be interested. The problem of educating and supplying Indian nurses for our hospitals, the adoption of steps to prevent the indiscriminate use of drugs and intoxicants, the question whether medical education should be of 2 grades or one, whether it is desirable to train students for the purpose of creating a public health service,—these and many other problems will be before you for solution, either during this session or during the ensuing year. But there is one question which has been asked often and which I desire to deal shortly before I conclude. It has been asked whether, a member of the profession, should interest himself in any matter outside the four corners of his professional life, whether this Association should take up matters which, in common parlance, are dubbed political. Gentlemen, I have very definite views on this question. In India, we have never regarded the various affairs of life as being in water-tight compartments: Politics, technically so called, is intermixed with economical, social, and medical problems. If politics means the science of organisation for the purpose of securing the greatest good of the largest number, I declare we, members of the profession, dare not keep away from politics. If by a politician, we mean, in the words of Milton, a man of "Cunning," our profession is too noble, too

altruistic, to allow us to be so. No, Gentlemen, we have nothing to do with him. In the present state of your country, I entreat you to organise yourselves. In any steps you take, beware of pitfalls, act in an organised way, for let us not forget the famous words of Abraham Lincoln: "Brethren, let us hang together or else we may hang separately."

B. C. RAY

V

NOW AND EVER

What's good for me Thou knowest best,
Did I know me when first came breath?
But I was Thine ere I was I,
And shall be Thine when lost in death.
Thou hast me tied to frame of flesh,
Unseeing Thee, in darksome tomb.
O, did I cling to this me, when
Alive with mother's breath in womb?
O, make me—make as willest Thou
Love, I'm Thine for ever as now.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

REFLECTIONS OF A WAYFARER

دریں زمانه رفیقی که خالي از خللست
صراحي مي ناب و سفینهٔ غزلسـت

Thus sang Hafiz. And to-day his verdict will be accepted and affirmed by all of judgment and discretion. 'A jug of wine, a book of verse'—they are to-day, what they were in the life-time of the poet, friends that never fail or falter, betray or hurt. And, to be sure, unto the end of time they will claim and retain their glory, resplendent, untarnished. Life is woven of experiences more sad than happy and, thus, as the years go by, a tinge of melancholy suffuses our outlook, colours our vision. We look back and we find a sheaf of regrets, a bundle of memories, cross and calvary as so many sign-posts left behind :

در گلستانِ جهان هر مرغ نالانِ خود است
هر گلي درماندهٔ حالِ پریشانِ خود است

We look ahead and we perceive a dense mist, impervious, impenetrable to human eyes. Foresight, calculation retire in despair, bewildered, baffled. But if the past distresses and the future give us a cold shiver, the present sickens. Try whom we will, seek what we will—disappointment, disillusion dog our footsteps. Passion reigns in the place of Reason ; Revenge is dignified as justice ; Pettiness is characterised as policy ; Friendship is set down as expediency ; Love is caricatured as sexual attraction ; Religion is bought and sold for a mess of pottage ; everything, in fine, is a travesty, a counterfeit.

Against this perversity sensitive souls have always rebelled. They have wandered in search of a spiritual reality which scorns to bargain or to make terms with the base or the vulgar in life. And of such a band has Asifi spoken :—

عالمی مقبول و من مردودم آنجا آصفی
از چه مردودم مگر ز ابنای عالم نیستم

No surrender to the mean or the ignoble was at once their watchword and their goal. "Flee from their contagion flee" is not, indeed, a new note. We hear it in the soul-subduing music of Hafiz; in the playful humour of Khayyam; in the plangent resonance of Dard; in the carping cynicism of Ghalib. But nowhere in a clearer or a more audible tone than in Ibn Yamin. Every *Qita* is either a war-cry against baseness or a triumphant assertion of *that* freedom of the mind which will not bend or break under any stress or trial, which, fearless of favour or frown, fulfils its mission :—

مرا لقمهٔ نان که اندر خورست * پدید آ ورم از ره دهقنست
بنزدیک درنان نخواهم نمود * ز بهر در نان بعد ازین مسکنت
من و طاعت و گوشهٔ عافیت * زهی بادشاهی زهی سلطنت

And in the 'Journal' of Amiel, in the 'Recollections' of Renan I catch the same accent, hear the same tune. Oppressed by world-weariness, distressed, disheartened, disillusioned by world's experiences Amiel pours out his heart into his journal acclaiming the philosophy of Hafiz and his intellectual kinsmen. Society may enliven or broaden the mind but solitude is the school of those who think, feel, suffer. In that world of silence and aloofness, in that spiritual sanctuary the soul receives its true nutriment and attains its true height. There in that spiritual sanctuary we find clarity and measure; there we find, too, an instinctive repulsion from violence, extravagance,

incoherence which a company, however distinguished, can never fully know or wholly possess :

رهئے اب ایسي جگه چل کر جهاں کوئي نهو
هم سخن کوئي نه هو اور همزباں کوئي نهو
بے در و دیوار سا اک گهر بنـــایا چاهئے
کوئي همسایه نهو اور پاسبـــاں کوئي نهو
پڑئے گر بیمـــار تو کوئي نهو تیمـــار دار
اور اگر مرجائے تو نوحه خواں کوئي نهـــو

In these lines that great poet of self-introspection, the immortal Asadullah Khan Ghalib, has not uttered frenzied poetical rhapsody but has boldly bared his heart. He illumines, he informs and there is always that subtle aroma in him, incommunicable save to those whose hearts are in tune to receive it. What man of finer feelings or sensibilities has not felt as Ghalib has felt ? To be sure it is the common experience of all sensitive souls expressed in language of wondrous force and felicity.

Intercourse with the world and dealings with our fellow beings do not *as a rule*, make for optimism or cheerfulness.

If in the 'Journal' we hear faint echoes of falling tears—in the 'Recollections' the thunderous fulminations fill the air, rend the sky.

"A society in which personal distinction is of little account, in which talent and wit are not marketable commodities, in which exalted functions do not ennoble, in which politics are left to men devoid of standing or ability, in which the recompenses of life are accorded by preference to intrigue, to vulgarity, to the charlatans who cultivate the art of puffing and to the smart people who just keep without the clutches of the law, would never suit us." So far Renan.

Years ago I read Renan's 'Recollections.' I enjoyed their music but, I confess, I did not then quite fathom their depths.

Now that I have read them again I have found in them a deeper significance, a keener sensibility, an acuter edge, a depth and profundity which I, then, neither divined nor quite understood. I hear the music as of yore for it is divine, but it is not of the kind that I heard twenty-eight years ago at my beloved Oxford. The music is there but it is the sad, tear-evoking, melancholy-provoking music of human disillusionment. I never then understood Renan's overwhelming passion for the company of the dead. I understand it now. A great work yields pleasure at all times and in all seasons. It enlivens youth; it nerves manhood; it comforts, supports old age.

And thus Renan and Amiel, Ghalib and Arnold, exponents of modern thought, re-affirm, re-iterate the wisdom of Hafiz and his illustrious peers:

گشت است طبیعتِ جهـــانی * دایم در زبان چو مار بـــودن
در شیـــوهٔ مکر و رسم تلبیس * ز امثـــال بتـــر ز مار بودن
چون زلف خوشت ز فتنـه جوئ * آ شفتـــه و بیقـــرار بـــودن
زین جمع که وصف درمیـانست * دوریي به و بـــر کنـــار بودن
با اهل خرد بکنـــج خلـــوت * با بـــادهٔ خوشگـــوار بـــودن

* * * * * * * * * * *

شام بی تو بخـــون غلطـــم * صبـــح ندارم نفـــس شماریهـــا

25th February, 1930.—Exactly a year to-day since the light went out—the light that guided life's weary path. And what a year it has been! Restlessly has the mind wandered into the dim regions of the fading past, reviving, restoring old memories; anxiously, restlessly, painfully have the longing eyes looked and looked in vain for all *that* was and alas! is now no more; bitterly has the heart ached and unceasingly have the tears flowed but nothing has availed. Night, that healer of griefs to others, has ever and anon, made mine acuter still. In her death-like stillness memories smite and sting;

despair assumes a darker, deeper hue; the tumultuous heart tells its own sombre tale in a loud and yet louder key; the outstretched hand feels the void and the sleepless eyes realize naught but the encircling gloom. We are fully alive to the folly of grieving, the futility of the quest. But reason cannot, will not persuade the heart to give up grieving or the quest. Sleep, is sleep the portion of a fretful mind? Serenity, is serenity the lot of one shorn of light and love? When Sappho sang of the night as one which restored her fair deserter to her arms—she sacrificed the truth to poetic fiction. No! there is no sleep for the Lover and, therefore, no dream for the wakeful eyes.

Death laughs at our despair and the Gods rejoice in the sorrows of man. Rightly did Khajah Mir Dard see sorrow and suffering as the allotted heritage of man:

دردِ دل کے واسطے پیدا کیا انسان کو
ورنہ طاعت کے لئے کچھ کم نہ تھے کروبیان

* * * *

I have been reading Alfred Cobban's *Edmund Burke and the Revolt against the 18th Century*. It is an extremely opportune work. In these stirring times when the air is thick with constitution-making this little book may serve as a corrective to those who arrogate to themselves the task of fashioning constitutions for their own or foreign peoples. Constitutions grow. They are not made. Never in the history of the world has a constitution ever been the gift of a ruling power.

"Man knows little, has little power. For him to take over the reins, to try to influence the destiny of a race, would be no less mad than impious. Put your trust in the past, says Burke, there is no higher sanction than Prescription, for it is a guarantee of the long-continued approval of God and man. Prescription, then, is for Burke the most solid rock on which mundane rights can be based; it gives a title having for its

sanction the eternal order of things ; it is the master and not the creature of positive Law ; it is the decree of nature; it is the Law of God.'' This wholesome warning of Burke is needed now more than ever. There is a growing tendency here and elsewhere to transplant foreign institutions and to introduce foreign systems of Government. No real good can come out of such idle experiments. Political institutions can only come into existence in response to popular demands which are but mere assertions of popular will. They are the outcome of national consciousness and are the flower and fruit of national needs. And where there is no national consciousness, and, therefore, no national need ; where there is no Past to appeal to nor yet Prescription to stand by—a manufactured constitution will serve rather to retard than to promote that natural spontaneous growth of political life which requires time, patience, training and last, but not least, subordination to the larger interests of the country, to come into full fruition.

Better by far than all constitution-making is the enthronement of Love and Justice ; for the true conquest of a people is never secured, save by these. Force has never but Love always has conquered the heart. Never were truer words uttered than by Jalal-i-Asir when he composed these lines :

اقلیم دل بزور مسخر نمیشود
این فتح بی شکست میسر نمیشود

And History accords its full assent to him. Love conquers but it conquers by its own conquest. And the East correctly read alike the secret of Love and the secret of Government. What a fine collection of sayings, aphorisms, maxims we would have for the guidance of Statesmen, culled from Eastern Literature! Would that some one set this task to himself! Packed courts, submissive juries, mock trials, repressive measures have always defeated their own end. They have

invariably been the surest road to ruin. Once set in circulation —ideas never die. Once the eyes are opened—they are never shut. The wave is not stayed by dams or barriers. Suppress ideas, repress them—but they ever and anon will emerge with the strength of truth, fresh, vigorous, unconquered, unconquerable.

Like Love justice too is a vital, all-conquering force—the justice that serves the Master whose laws are as eternal as the hills and whose commands as effective as death. In every human ear, willing to hear and obey, ring those commands as clear as a bell. Has not Carlyle said with his usual fire and fervour: "Justice, radiant, beneficent, as the all-victorious Light-element, is also in essence, if need be, an all-victorious Fire-element, and melts all manner of vested interests, and the hardest iron cannon, as if they were soft wax, and does ever in the long run rule and reign, and allows nothing else to rule and reign."

But nothing is more corrupting than Power and Power rarely listens to reason.

* * * *

3rd March, 1930.

اے ہمنفسانِ محفلِ ما * رفتید ولی نہ از دلِ ما

Year by year my 'Id is becoming sadder and sadder. Death, busy with reaping its harvest, is constantly thinning the rank of the loved-ones. Small was the circle that gathered round the table to-day—oh! tragically small. "Gone—gone where thou and I must go." It was a sad meal. Speechless I sat with eyes dim, but the mind full of visions. It was a dream, an abstraction, a pleasant relief from the grim reality of the moment. I rose with the couplet of Rasikh on my lips:

غافل تو بھی تر رفتنی ہے * کب تک غمِ رفتگاں کریگا

What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue!

* * * *

I have often wondered what would be the historian's summing up of our age a hundred years hence. Would he put our age down as pre-eminently an age of intellectual advance, of political growth, of industrial unrest ? I fancy not. He would sum it up as an Age of Free Inquiry with the resultant challenge to authority. And in every walk of life this is plain and undeniable. Religion has been its first and foremost victim. To one who scans the religious horizon to-day it is not avowed irreligion, listless indifference, self-complacent Agnosticism but it is the absorbing passion to examine, to test the foundations of belief which strikes as the outstanding feature of our times. And with this is associated an unquenchable eagerness to pour fresh wine into old bottles, to interpret the old in the light of things new, to adjust, as far as possible or practicable, the modern life in terms of ancient and mediaeval precepts and traditions. The Eastern tenacity is still conspicuous but the *Zeitgeist,* the spirit of compromise, has awakened into life. It has become a power to reckon with and this is full of promise and of hope :—

بیا تا گل بر افشانیم و می در ساغر اندازیم
فلک را سقف بشگافیم و طرحی نو در اندازیم

To this spirit too must be ascribed that increased and increasing literary and scientific activity which constitutes the most striking phenomenon of our age. Explore the old quarries, exploit the new world of science, keep pace with modern ideas, choose and appropriate the best—are not these too patent to be missed or misunderstood?

> The wave is sweeping over us—the wave of
> Liberalism and freedom.

Never have such mighty changes been wrought with greater rapidity than with us. The India of a quarter of a century

was a different India from the India of to-day—different in tone and temper, different in outlook and attitude, mental and moral. The Pope is steadily losing ground and the autocrat is now but a shadow of his former self. India is fighting for her rights, clamouring for her dues. She is calling for a review and revision of her Deed of Partnership. And such a call *alone* heralds the dawn of a new era and a new freedom!

آنچه فلک نخواست هیچ کس از فلک نخواست
ظرف فقیه میی نیست بادهٔ ما گزک نخواست

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY

The natural bent of Shelley's mind is to seek and establish harmony. This disposition became strengthened by his Platonic studies. In Plato theology, ethics and politics are somewhat indissolubly connected together. At any rate, they are not sharply defined in their limits and functions.

Theology mainly concerns itself with universal or absolute Good and oftener than not is connected with a divine Personality. That which is good for man only may be considered to be an integral part of this ultimate Good. Shelley had some idea regarding this. He surely understood that ethics relates mainly to what is good for man considered as a member of society as distinguished from politics in which welfare or good of men is considered so far as they are members of states or political institutions. This will be clear from his idea of moral science. It must also be borne in mind that in so far as political institutions are tested and valued by the measure of human welfare they can secure, ethics becomes indirectly the criterion of politics and is thus related to it, the ultimate object of the state being man's good in the state. Yet in theory at least it is possible to discuss the question of man's well-being in society merely in relation to other men considered as individuals or private persons without reference to their being at the same time members of a Government.

Moral Science.

We can form an idea of Shelley's moral philosophy from the fragments of 1815 called "Speculations on Morals" in which he gives us a bare plan of a treatise on morals of which the scope is limited to the development of the elementary principles of morals, dwells on the nature of virtue, especially of justice and benevolence, refutes political mistake and religious error and shows that moral science takes into consideration the differences and not resemblances of persons.

Morals and Metaphysics are according to this treatise the two divisions of "that great science which regards nature and the operations of the human mind. The latter relates to a just classification, and the assignment of distinct names to its ideas; the former regards simply the determination of that arrangement of them which produces the greatest and most solid happiness." It is admitted that "a virtuous or moral action is that action which, when considered in all its accessories and consequences, is fitted to produce the highest pleasure to the greatest number of sensitive beings."

"Moral science itself is the doctrine of the voluntary actions of man, as a sentient and social being." * * "We exist in the midst of a multitude of beings like ourselves, upon whose happiness most of our actions exert some obvious and decisive influence."

"The regulation of this influence is the object of moral science."

Here as elsewhere Shelley's interest is not in concrete systems of ethics or in moral codes but in the essential principles of morality. The language here used may, at first sight, justify us in concluding at once that Shelley's method of ethics is utilitarian. To a great extent Shelley indicates here that he represents in a way the views of Helvétius, Hume, Priestley and Godwin, at least with regard to the question as to how men are to determine what is the *right* conduct for man. We must mention here also that in the Notes to his *Queen Mab* we come across equally significant statements, such as, (1) "mankind have lately admitted that happiness is the sole end of the science of ethics;" (2) "the worthiness of every action is to be estimated by the quantity of pleasurable sensation it is calculated to produce;" and (3) "utility is morality; that which is incapable of producing happiness is useless." According to Godwin "morality is that system of conduct which is determined by a consideration of the greatest general

good."[1] This general good is made by him the criterion of justice. He defines virtue as "any action or actions of an intelligent being, proceeding from kind and benevolent intention, and having a tendency to contribute to general happiness."[2] So far Shelley has something in common with Godwin.

Hume's emphasis is strongly laid on "useful" purpose, "useful" habits. "Reflections on public interest and utility" he makes the "*sole* source of the moral approbation to fidelity, justice, veracity, integrity." But Hume does not use the word utility in its Benthamite sense. It means "tendency to further good" and has reference to the possessor of the virtue. Its appeal is to both self-interest and the interests of others.

The scattered remarks and hints of Hume and Paley regarding utility as the standard of right and wrong were systematized and reduced to a fundamental or first principle by Bentham who *identified* utility with happiness and introduced the conception of *quantity* of happiness.

In trying to define happiness and make its meaning precise, ethical writers have understood by greatest happiness the greatest attainable surplus of pleasure over pain which gives practically a quantitative definition of the end aimed at. Generally speaking, utility in a qualitative sense is presupposed in most ethical systems in as much as goodness is associated with qualities of conduct which produce, directly or indirectly, pleasure either to the individual or to others. Utilitarianism introduces the element of qualitative precision—not merely the general idea of happiness but of the greatest possible amount of happiness to the largest number or of all sentient beings.

Perfection and[3] Happiness have been considered to be two

[1] *Political Justice*, Book II, Ch. I.

[2] *Ibid*, Book II, Ch. IV.

[3] *Cf.* "Poetry is ever found to co-exist with whatever arts contribute to *the happiness and perfection* of man," "Defence of Poetry," para. 14, (Italics mine).

distinct *rational* ends of human life. Shelley's intense devotion to the ideal of perfection is well recognised and has been referred to at some length. The question of happiness, which he now concerns himself with in his speculations on morals, brings in, however, a new element; and it is different from what is strictly included in the idea of oughtness or of what is right. What is right for man is his duty. But duty as such does not refer to man's *interests* which happiness does. What is "ought" for man may not always coincide with what promotes his interests in actual life and experience. Moreover, interest involves the idea of some sort of calculation or balancing of advantages and their contrary. We shall presently see what Shelley's attitude is towards calculation and how he stands therein opposed to Godwin. Then again, obedience to duty (or right action) the rules of which constitute the moral code, is unconditionally binding on man whether it is conducive to his private interests or not. In this view his happiness as an end is not an immediate consideration for himself.

Cumberland (1672) speaks of the greatest possible benevolence of every rational agent towards all the rest as constituting the happiest state of each and all. He is the first among English moralists to distinctly lay down the Common Good of all as the supreme law, in which ethical historians detect the germ of later utilitarianism. But this good is interpreted as including perfection and not merely happiness. Shelley starts with an emphasis on man's voluntary actions considering him as a social being. This recognition of interdependence of individuals in their social relations has reference to what is generally called the moral law. Shelley has a clear perception of it. But he strongly condemns elsewhere the idea of duty being imposed as an obligation by the will of a lawgiver, human or divine, on pain of punishment. In this he is unlike Wordsworth who in his "Ode to Duty" betrays his Hebraic bent though the

[1] *Cf.* "Towards whatever we regard as perfect, undoubtedly it is no less our duty than it is our nature to press forward."—A Philosophical View of Reform.

poem shows the influence of Kant on him. Shelley holds that "the will of the law-giver would afford no surer criterion as to what actions were right or wrong." Locke traces morality to the law of God and accepts the view of rewards and punishments. This attitude finds an exponent in Paley in whom we come across ideas of general happiness and of quantity of pleasure. Even Sidgwick holds that "in so far, however, as a knowledge of God's law is believed to be attainable by the Reason, Ethics and Theology seem to be so closely connected that we cannot sharply separate their provinces." If duty is a mandate from God then the moral code becomes a kind of divine legislation. Divine law thus becomes applicable even in jurisprudence to all men *universally* as rule of conduct in human society distinguished from human legislation enforced by penal sanction. The Church held that moral rules were known to Christians through Revelation and were not dependant on Reason. But rationalists hold that man's reason dictates to him the right conduct, for as a rational being man knows and follows his highest good as the aim of his life. Regarding the claims of Revelation, Shelley says, "that if, as these reasoners have pretended, eternal torture or happiness will ensue as the consequence of certain actions, we should be no nearer the possession of a standard to determine what actions were right and wrong, even if this pretended revelation, which is by no means the case, had furnished us with a complete catalogue of them."

This rational view recognises also what is called the law of nature as distinguished from the law of nations. According to this law of nature man is credited with the power of knowing without the aid of revelation what is really good for himself; and this faculty of knowing is considered as the power in man by which man should be regulated in his conduct. Shaftesbury holds, for example, that every rational being has a "moral sense" which impels him to good action and he emphasizes disinterestedness—love of goodness not as a means but for its

own sake. Hutcheson too speaks of the disinterestedness [1] of benevolent affections. Price derives moral ideas from the "intuition of truth or the immediate discernment of the nature of things by the understanding:". This intellectual intuition is connected with an emotional element and men are impelled to virtue by an "implanted sense" acting in co-operation with a rational being's perception of right and wrong. Price recognises in addition to benevolence certain moral principles. Men intuitively see that it is right to promote happiness but that alone does not constitute his obligation to be good; disinterestedness in man must lead him to choose the right conduct simply because it is right, irrespective of considerations of ulterior consequences. This kind of intuitionism distinguishes Price, with whom Kant has an affinity, from Priestley and Godwin who make "greatest happiness" the test of morality.

I have already laid stress on the influence of Price on Shelley which is, however, not sufficiently recognised by Shelley's critics. In his theory of morals Shelley seems to me to have been largely indebted to Price. Even in *Queen Mab* the meed of virtue is not happiness but "that peace which, in the end, all life will share" and "the will of changeless nature would be unfulfilled, were it virtue's meed to dwell in a celestial palace, all resigned to pleasurable impulses." The secrets of the wonders of the human world are found by the Fairy Queen "in the unfailing consciences of men." In his *Speculations on Morals* we have a more pronounced note:—"The internal influence, derived from the constitution of the mind from which they flow, produces that peculiar modification of actions, which makes them intrinsically good or evil." This is a highly significant suggestion implying Shelley's leaning towards an intuitive as opposed to an inductive point of view which differentiates him

Is Shelley a Rational Intuitionist?

[1] *Cf.* "Love possesses so extraordinary a power over the human heart only because disinterestedness is united with the natural propensities."—Shelley's Speculations on Morals, Ch. I.

from Godwin whose influence on Shelley's ethical views is to our mind exaggerated by critics.[1] I shall presently revert to this important topic.

In his "Defence of Poetry" the idea of interdependence is emphasized in the passage—"the social sympathies, or those laws from which as from its elements society results, begin to develop themselves from the moment that two human beings co-exist ; the future is contained within the present as the plant within the seed ; and equality, diversity, unity, contrast, mutual dependence, become the principles alone capable of affording the motives according to which the will of a social being is determined to action, in as much as he is social ; and constitute pleasure in sensation, virtue in sentiment, beauty in art, truth in reasoning, and love in the intercourse of kind." A close affinity is also suggested between truth, virtue, pleasure and beauty. In the *Ode to Liberty* Shelley seeks to establish a kinship between liberty and beauty. Mr. Symonds holds that Shelley makes morality nothing but fidelity to an ideal truth which also produces pleasure. In the preface to *Prometheus Unbound* there is emphasis on "the beautiful idealisms of moral excellence" as the substance of his poetry.

Conclusion.

It is therefore nearer the truth to say that Platonic idealism and not Godwinian intellectualism is the main tendency discoverable in Shelley's opinions on almost all important problems—social, political, moral or religious in the final phase of his development. Shelley's idealism leads him to seek for unity, harmony everywhere and so goodness is allied to beauty. This idealistic tendency is responsible for making his philosophy of art connected with his idea of ethics. He well-nigh identifies the true, the good and the beautiful in his *Defence of Poetry*, the first part of which (especially paragraphs 1 to 9) is devoted to a psychological and metaphysi-

[1] *Cf.* "As regards his speculations, moral or metaphysical, Shelley was, we have to remember, an uncompromising disciple of Godwin."—John Shawcross.

cal discussion in which Shelley is decidedly influenced by Plato's theory of ideas.

Godwin and Shelley.

Godwin refers to Jonathan Edward's "Enquiry into the Freedom of Will." and rejects the doctrine of free will and follows Hume's "Enquiry concerning Human Understanding." In Book IV, Chapters VII and VIII of his *Political Justice*, he elaborately deals with the question of free will and necessity and as a consequence upholds the doctrine of intellectual and moral necessity. In Book IV, Ch. IX Godwin says—"The doctrine of Necessity being admitted, it follows that the theory of the human mind is properly, like the theory of every other series of events with which we are acquainted, a system of mechanism." In the *earliest phase* of his theory of morals Shelley too (as in the Notes on *Queen Mab*) connects morality with Necessity. "He who asserts the doctrine of Necessity," says Shelley, "means that, contemplating the events which compose the moral and material universe he beholds only an immense and uninterrupted chain of causes and effects." * * "Hence the relation which motive bears to voluntary action is that of cause to effect." "Every human being is irresistibly impelled to act precisely as he does act." "History, politics, morals, criticism, all grounds of reasonings, all principles of science, alike assume the truth of the doctrine of Necessity." But he recognises that "whilst none have scrupled to admit necessity as influencing matter, many have disputed its dominion over mind" suggesting thereby that he had a leaning towards the philosophy of Kant. He further adds that "the doctrine of Necessity tends to introduce a great change into the established notions of morality, and utterly to destroy religion. It does not in the least diminish our disapprobation of vice." In his letter of July 15, 1811, quoting from Helvétius the passage—"Modes of worship differ, they are therefore the work of men—Morality is accordant, *universal*, and uniform, therefore it is the work of God" Shelley slightly modifies the view by observing—"I

The first phase in Shelley.

should say, it is *Morality* which I cannot but consider as synonymous with the Deist's God."

To what extent Shelley's theory became modified in the latest phase of his development we shall be able to ascertain from his mature work, *The Defence of Poetry*, in which the most important factor in Shelley's moral philosophy is the place and function he assigns to the imagination considered as the organ of man's moral nature.

The Second phase.

It is necessary, however, to note that in this process of development Shelley passed through an *intermediate stage* of intellectualism. He accepted for a time the Socratic idea of a close alliance between knowledge and virtue, making wisdom and virtue inseparable and selfishness the offspring of ignorance and mistake. Godwin too makes ethical problems intellectual in *Political Justice*, Book I, Ch. V and Book IV, Ch. V. Apart from the influence of Godwin, the bent of Shelley's mind was intellectual because he felt always the fascination of the simplification achieved by abstract thought. This tendency is very clear in his *Essay on Life* where intellectualism is dominant. Shelley states in this essay that "perhaps the most clear and vigorous statement of the intellectual system is to be found in Sir William Drummond's Academical Questions." Shelley's great admiration for the Academical Questions is clear from his Notes on *Queen Mab*, but still more from his letter to Hunt of November 3, 1819, in which Sir William Drummond is spoken of as "the most acute metaphysical critic of his age and a man of unblemished integrity of character." Shelley's conclusion in this Essay on Life which unmistakably proves the influence of Sir William Drummond is that his ideas regarding man as a being of high aspirations, the character of all life and being are consistent not with materialism or the popular philosophy of mind and matter (by which Shelley implies the commonsense school) but only with the intellectual system. It is not, therefore, correct, or at any rate accurate, to affirm that Shelley was led to an intellectual view of ethics by

Godwin's [1] influence. Godwin, no doubt, puts great emphasis on the omnipotence of truth in Book IV, Ch. V, of *Political Justice* and discusses at length the necessity of cultivating truth in Book IV, Ch. V. His firm conviction is that reason and truth must prevail and that truth leads to virtue and virtue to true happiness. Virtue is connected with knowledge, and more closely with the understanding. Investigation and discussion are therefore the best agencies to be employed in the diffusion of virtue. The practical value of truth lies in the production of sincerity and Godwin elaborates his conception of sincerity in Ch. VI. Truth requires free discussion of opinions. Therefore unrestrained freedom of speculative thinking and of expression of opinions is absolutely necessary. From this follows his doctrine of the right of private judgment which is the subject-matter of Book II, Ch. VI. Action, he holds, ought to be voluntary and voluntary action originates in opinion and is rational, and it is accompanied by foresight of consequences. So by argument and persuasion such action may be changed, may be improved. Vice can easily be corrected because it is *error*. Sound reasoning and omnipotent truth will triumph over error, that is, vice.

Godwin's ethical system is intellectual in which mind is made dependent on sense perception, for mind cannot be considered pure. He makes reason supreme and even in morals the only safe guide, though in Book IV, Ch. X, which mainly deals with benevolence, showing that he differs from adherents of the school of thought which makes self-love or the desire in each man to avoid personal pain and secure personal pleasure the motive of action, the disposition to promote the benefit of another is recognised as one of the passions and passion is defined as "a permanent and habitual tendency towards a certain course of action."

The intellectual or rational theory is also advocated by Cudworth, Clarke and Dr. Price. It may be traced to Plato's

[1] In Godwin's writings Shelley found the "intellectual system" stated in its barest terms—J. Shaweross.

Philebus which makes the pursuit of truth practically man's highest happiness. Aristotle too founds true happiness on the basis of the active operation of mental excellence, though he distinguishes intellectual virtue belonging to the highest part of the soul called Reason from moral virtue resulting from cultivated *habit* and having connection with pleasure and pain.

Shelley how differentiated from Godwin.

With Shelley virtue is a passion—the active principle of love universal in its operation. In a letter of 1811 Shelley asserts—"certainly reason can never either account for, or prove the truth of, feeling." But Godwin's emphasis is on the *rational* perception of merit in ethics. Godwin almost eliminates emotion and personal attachment and considers feeling when not under the strict guidance of reason to be a source of moral error and he is not altogether free from inconsistency in the importance he assigns to benevolence, which, after all, is an emotion. We cannot claim for Shelley's views on moral questions that they are scientific, logically consistent, systematic and complete, or quite practical. But, at any rate, he rejects the Godwinian view that moral preference should have reference to merits of individuals. On the contrary Shelley's emphasis is on what is common to all men alike, that is, human nature as such. "You ought," he says, "to love all mankind"—which includes the individuals of the family. This is in harmony with Shelley's conception of love as something infinite (as indicated clearly in his *Epipsychidion*). Psychologically Shelley makes love the great secret of morals and recognises the moral worth of passion. We have a famous passage in his *Defence of Poetry*—"The great secret of morals is love; or going out of our own nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person, not our own. A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination." The domi-

nion of love is described as "the sublimest victory over sensuality and force." It is not to be inferred that Shelley indirectly advocates here didactic poetry, for he asserts that the "bold neglect of a direct moral [1] purpose is the most decisive proof of the supremacy of Milton's genius." There is an equally significant passage in his prose fragment, *The Coliseum*—"It is because we enter into the meditations, designs and destinies of something beyond ourselves, that the contemplation of the ruins of human power excites an elevating sense of awfulness and beauty. It is therefore, that the ocean, the glacier, the cataract, the tempest, the volcano, have each a spirit which animates the extremities of our frame with tingling joy. It is therefore, that the singing of birds, and the motion of leaves, the sensation of the odorous earth beneath, and the freshness of the living wind around, is sweet. And this is Love. This is the religion of eternity, whose votaries have been exiled from among the multitude of mankind." Plato too in his *Symposium* makes love the fundamental impulse of both artistic and moral activity. The unseen power in Shelley's *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, representing eternal loveliness and perfection of ideal beauty, leads the poet to love all humankind and thus furthers a benevolent impulse.

Like Holcroft's, the ideal of Shelley was unflinching ruth and his letters of 1811 and 1812 evince how ardent Shelley was "in the cause of philanthropy and truth." He solemnly declares himself as a devotee at the shrine of Eternal Truth and that Truth was his God. Though in later life he conceived great reverence towards the literatures of the Greeks and the Romans, in 1812 he argued with Godwin against them on the score of honour having been set above virtue. Rational moralists like Wollaston make virtue the assertion of truth, our ideas of right and wrong being supposed to result from the truth of things. Shelley's view of ethics in the second stage of his life

[1] *Cf.* Preface to *The Cenci*, para. 4.

was as intellectual as that of Aquinas according to whom happiness is an act of the intelligence which controls and directs our passions and desires, and men desire something because they *know* it to be good, virtue being a matter of disposition governed by Reason. Locke, whose influence on Shelley is not negligible, accounts for man's wrong desire and acts as proceeding from wrong judgments. In the preface to *The Cenci*, Shelley affirms that "in proportion to the possession of the knowledge of the human heart every human being is wise, just, sincere, tolerant, and kind." In his *Speculations on Morals*, he says "Wisdom and virtue may be said to be inseparable, and criteria of each other." "Selfishness is the offspring of ignorance and mistake * * disinterested benevolence is the product of a cultivated imagination. * * Virtue is thus entirely a refinement of civilized life; a creation of the human mind; or rather, a combination which it has made according to *elementary rules contained within itself*, of the feelings suggested by the relations established between man and man "[1] (italics mine).

Leaning towards the Intuitive View.

Here we detect, however, a significant modification of pure intellectualism. This new note is more prominent in his view that "the benevolent propensities are inherent in the human mind. We are impelled to seek the happiness of others." Again, he asserts that "justice, as well as benevolence, is an elementary law of human nature."[2] Shelley thus indicates his view of an innate moral sense even though he may not *completely* shake off the early admiration he felt for the intellectual system which to some extent affects even his aesthetic philosophy, for according to Shelley the discovery of truth is the basis of art and poetry renders great service to humanity by discovering for man

[1] *Cf.* Shelley's remarks on "Benevolence" in Ch. I of *Speculations on Morals*.

[2] *Cf.* "Justice and benevolence result from the elementary laws of the human mind" (Plan of a Treatise on Morals). In his "Philosophical View of Reform" rules of freedom and equality are spoken of as the elementary principles according to which the happiness resulting from the social union ought to be produced and distributed.

the way to truth. On the other hand it is also suggested that the moral feeling in man is in a way instinctive and its practical value lies in its power of affecting the will. Shelley adds—"The efficiency, the essence, the vitality of actions, derives its colour from what is in no ways contributed to from any external source." Hume's inclination in his *Enquiry concerning Morals* is rather towards such a view and Richard Price calls the power implanted in man for perceiving right and wrong an *immediate* power of perception in the mind of man though he gives to it the name of the understanding. The utilitarians are, however, opposed to this view and in this respect too Shelley cannot be classed with them, and Godwin is practically a staunch supporter of utility. This point we shall consider further in connection with Shelley's theory of happiness.

We know that two enquiries are involved in the question of ethical investigation. The first is—How to account for man's moral sentiments? What is the origin of the notion of duty? How and whence do men derive the idea of duty or of oughtness? The second is—How to justify moral sentiments? What reasons can we advance to convince men that they must act according to them? What are the motives for doing duty?

Strictly speaking the first is more a psychological enquiry and the second really an ethical enquiry.

In Ch. I of his *Speculations on Morals* Shelley refers to self-love and self-interest and shows how it becomes gradually transformed with the growth of the child. Shelley does not *derive* man's moral sense from the instinctive desire of man to secure the preservation of his individual being but proves how this sense *develops* with the growth of civilisation. Whereas the cynical Mandeville frankly considers self-love to be the spring of action and he is followed by Hobbes and Helvétius. According to Bentham men are governed primarily by pleasure and pain. He speaks of the tendency of an action "to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question".

Shelley definitely states that "the character of actions as virtuous or vicious would by no means be determined alone by the personal advantage or disadvantage of each moral agent individually considered. Indeed, an action is often virtuous in proportion to the greatness of the personal calamity which the author willingly draws upon himself by daring to perform it. * * * If the action is in itself beneficial, virtue would rather consist in not refraining from it, but in firmly defying the personal consequences attached to its performance."

The rejection of personal reference and the emphatic recognition of social sentiment are important elements in Shelley's views of ethics. There is recognition also of the practical value of the moral *feeling* in man as something affecting the will. There is, besides, a suggestion that moral feeling is in a way instinctive though education and civilisation develop it. Even when overbalance of pleasure is made the test, it has reference to the greatest number of sentient beings. The purity of virtue, according to Shelley, "consists in the motive rather than in the consequences of an action."

This means a clear leaning towards the intuitive as against the inductive view. If it is natural for man to desire "the cessation of pain because the human mind regards it with dissatisfaction, it is equally *according to its nature* to desire that the advantages should be enjoyed equally by all" (italics mine).

Shelley pointedly gives prominence to sympathy, intensive and extensive, which grows with the growth of civilisation, because its development tends to bridge the gulf between self-love and benevolence and make self-interest coincide with regard for general good or greatest happiness of all. He establishes the gradual growth from self-love to acute sympathy with the sufferings and enjoyments of others both in the individual as well as in society as the natural man develops into a member of a highly civilised community.

Bentham makes prudence more than self-love the actuating influence on man in his desire to secure personal happiness.

Goodwill (along with love of amity, of reputation and even religious precepts) aims at the happiness of others. Prudence and benevolence constitute the moral faculty.

According to Price self-love relates to man as a sensible being but benevolence to man as an intelligent being and man's reason as a determining factor does not lead to virtuous action merely because it promotes the happiness of mankind.

In Shelley's *Defence of Poetry* we have—"Poetry, and the principle of self, of which money is the visible incarnation, are the God and Mammon of the world." He also attempts to show in it how emotions of love purge the soul of selfishness and asserts in the Preface to the *Revolt of Islam* that "love is celebrated everywhere as the sole law which should govern the moral world."

"Pain or pleasure," he further holds, "if subtly analysed, will be found to consist entirely in prospect. The only distinction between the selfish man and the virtuous man is that the imagination of the former is confined within a narrow limit whilst that of the latter embraces a comprehensive circumference. In this sense wisdom and virtue may be said to be inseparable."

Now, the intuitive view believes in the existence of a moral faculty implanted in man and in man's natural power of perceiving the importance of virtues like truthfulness, benevolence, justice, and chastity. It holds that man by the very constitution of his nature or mind recognises a feeling of obligation to do what he knows to be right. To know a thing to be right is considered a sufficient reason to practise it irrespective of consideration of consequences. Intuition furnishes man with first principles of duty. This natural or innate power of perception is rejected by utilitarians. According to them experience and observation convince us that a course of conduct is conducive to human happiness and to secure the greatest happiness of the largest number is the aim of morality. True inductive or utilitarian theory cannot admit that men have any *natural* obliga-

tion to sacrifice their own happiness for this greatest happiness of mankind. It cannot accept "a moral faculty" or "a natural sense of moral obligation." The motive to virtue is, after all, an enlightened self-interest. The only incentive to action is to obtain happiness and avoid pain.

Shelley, however, derives the "internal influence" which by modifying actions make them *intrinsically* good or evil, from the very constitution of the mind. His stress is on the motive rather than the consequences of an action. He speaks of justice and benevolence as an *elementary law of human nature*, adding that the sense of justice "is a sentiment in the human mind." He bases "all theories which have refined and exalted humanity" upon "the elementary emotions of disinterestedness." He seeks to "establish the proposition that, according to the elementary principles of mind, man is capable of desiring and pursuing good for its own sake." He seems to uphold with the Cambridge moralists like Cudworth the essential and eternal distinctions of good and evil.

With regard to the second enquiry as to "wherefore should a man be benevolent and just?" the answer is partially contained in the summary of Shelley's views already given. But Shelley significantly adds something to that answer. "If a man persists to enquire," he says, "why he ought to promote the happiness of mankind, he demands a mathematical reason for a moral action. The absurdity of this scepticism is more apparent, but not less real than the exacting a moral reason for a mathematical or metaphysical fact."

(To be continued.)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

Provincial Finance in India—By Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (London), pp. 367. Macmillan & Co., 1929.

This book, which is a sequel to a course of public lectures delivered by the author as the Minto Professor of Economics, is an attempt to outline a constructive policy in the field of one of the most difficult of current problems—the financial relations between the Provinces and the Central Government. Basing his information on the different Parliamentary Papers, Despatches of the Government of India, and other official publications he has placed before the readers a clear, thoughtful and alluring volume which will appeal to everybody.

Commencing his study from the growth of the Presidency system from the year 1723 down to the modern date he traces in detail the gradual development of the overcentralised Presidency system and the gradual stages in the decentralisation of finance in the first five chapters.

Ch. VI and Ch. VII are devoted to an exposition of the ideals of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme and a trenchant criticism of the same.

A lucid explanation of the devolution rules, with reference to the financial powers of the Finance Department and its over-riding powers, the non-appointment of a financial adviser, the power of restoration which practically negatives all or any control which the Legislature has in financial matters, the inclusion of too many heads under non-votable items, a better functioning of the Public Accounts Committee and the early appointment of a Finance Committee—are the chief points of criticism against the present working of the Reform Scheme.

The final chapter outlines his scheme of financial adjustment. With a preliminary recounting of the salient reasons for the failure of the scheme the author proceeds to settle aright the present system of provincial finance in the following manner. What is needed is dual reform (*a*) the reallocation of financial resources between the central and the Provincial Governments, (*b*) the redistribution of provincial funds between the different provinces. The first depends on the functions of the Central Government. Curtailment of expenditure on defence by the reduction of British troops and the Indianisation of the Army would remedy the defect of overspending under this heading. This can be safely done in view of the peace

proposals that are so frequently raised in the platform and the press. A cut in the Civil establishment of the Central Government is also necessary in view of the fact that important subjects are handed over to the Provincial Governments. The Provinces require greater expenditure under most of the subjects handed over to them. This necessitates the assigning of really expanding items of revenue to them.

On pages 362 and 363 the author classifies the different heads of revenue as Central and Provincial and recommends the adoption of "divided heads of revenue." One or two can be used as "balancing factors." As for creation of new revenue it has to be indirectly secured first by retrenchment and secondly by increasing the rate of taxes on income and imported goods into the country. Tax on oil-seeds, levying of excise on tobacco and cigarettes made out of imported tobacco and a corresponding import duty on cigars, etc., excise duty on petroleum and an import duty on silver are suggested as the possible sources of income or revenue. Unless this dual reform is secured the ideal of justice would not be secured in the financial relations of the country.

The book would form an indispensable asset to the publicists, the research scholars and the students of this country. It is a carefully written and well-balanced account and the high standard of accuracy ought to be a model for all research scholars to bear in mind. The clarity and conciseness with which Dr. Banerjea expounds this intricate subject is worthy of high praise.

We regret that there is a slight misprint on p. 58 where 1769 is given wrongly for 1869.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

Armaghan-i-Shiraz—By Sayyid Yousuf Hosain Musavi, M.A. Printed at Nizami Press, Lucknow, 1929.

Armaghan-i-Shiraz or a Souvenir from Shiraz is a nice little book on "Urfi and His Poetry" written in Urdu by the young scholar named above. It opens with a short monographical sketch of the poet, who was born in Shiraz in A. H. 963 and came to India during the reign of Emperor Akbar and enjoyed the patronage of the nobles and courtiers of his court. He died at Lahore in A. H. 999, when he was only thirty-six years of age.

Urfi-i-Shirazi had a chequered career in India, and on account of his haughty temper and over-bearing manners he created many enemies to his great disadvantage. However his merit did not go unrewarded for he had the honour of reading a *qasida* (or panegyric poetry) in the presence of Prince Selim, who rewarded him handsomely. Mr. Musavi has tried

by adducing various arguments to defend Urfi's character, which, we are afraid, are not convincing. He has devoted considerable number of pages on the characteristics of Urfi as a *gazal* (lyrical poetry) writer and has endeavoured to trace his true merits, beauties of thoughts and philosophical ideas in an appreciative spirit, but has said nothing of his qualities as a *qasida*-writer for which he is most famous too. In the last portion of this pamphlet the author has devoted a chapter in comparing Urfi with the giants of Persian lyrics, namely Sa'di and Hafiz, but we do not agree with him in the conclusion he has drawn in that respect.

Mr. Musavi is a young and capable scholar and deserves encouragement. We are confident that if he carries on his studies in Persian poetry he will produce monographs of abiding interest and value. But as a word of advice to him, he must clearly understand that the function of a critic should not be that of an advocate but should be that of an impartial judge.

M. KAZIM SHIRAZI

Kalki-Upanishad—By Babu Harimohan Banerjee of 5/1, Kasi Bose Lane, Calcutta. Price Annas five.

The publication of the book brings us back to the ages of the past—the pre-historic times of the Vedas and the Upanishads, when India had its supremacy to enlighten the world through intellectual development. It is a learned brochure dealing with the natural laws of involution and evolution, and explaining clearly how things pass to gross materialization and how matter reduces itself to spiritual sublimity. In spiritual reduction man traces his origin of existence, he is a created being, and in repairing to his origin, he meets his creator and retires to his bosom, thus being saved from the horrors of death which befall him on material reduction. The book is an exposition of the Yogic culture how such spiritual excellence could be had. Kalki is represented as the cognizable spiritual Guru controlling the mind of a man, and having his seat inside the body, he restrains the evil propensities to which the mind is subjected through the influence of Kali or the evil spirit. The book has free quotations from the Hindu scriptures as well as from other scriptures—the Bible and the Koran,—and in attempting to make a reconciliation of views, the writer has successfully proved that the principles of all the scriptures are but one and the same, though apparently they look to be different to an uncultured brain.

R. S. T.

Ourselves

Our Vice-Chancellor.

We sincerely offer our hearty congratulations to our Vice-Chancellor, Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt., on his having recently received from the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, the distinction of an Honorary Degree of D. D. in recognition of his educational activities in Bengal.

* * *

Prof. Syamadas Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D.

We are glad to announce that Professor Syamadas Mukherjee's "Collected Geometrical Papers, Part I" has been spoken of in high terms of appreciation by Mr. T. Hayashi of the Mathematical Institute, Science College, Tohoku Imperial University, Japan, and A. R. Forsyth, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, South Kensington, London.

* * *

Appointment of Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar, M.A., Calcutta University, in the Technische Hochschule, Munich.

At the instance of the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, Mr. Benoykumar Sarkar, Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, has been invited by the Bavarian Ministry of Education to lecture on Economic and Social Problems of Modern India, for one year, in the Technische Hochschule, Munich. The object in appointing Prof. Sarkar is to promote cultural relations between Germany and India. It is intended to establish an India Institute in Munich, the avowed object of which would be to cultivate cultural relations between these two countries.

* * *

Result of the Preliminary Examination in Law, January, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Examination in Law, held in January, 1930, was 724. Of these 299 passed, 280 failed, none expelled and 145 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 14 were placed in Class I and 285 in Class II. The percentage of pass was 51·64.

* * *

Result of the M. L. Examination, December, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the M.L. Examination, held in December, 1929, was 3, of whom 1 passed in Class II, 1 failed, and 1 was absent.

* * *

The Nagarjuna Prize for 1928.

The Nagarjuna Prize for 1928 has been ordered to be equally divided between—

Chittaranjan Barat and Sudhirchandra Neogi.

* * *

A New D.Sc.

Mr. Kedareswar Banerji, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science on his thesis on—

Main Thesis—

Problems in Structures of Solids and Liquids in relation to Physical Properties.

Subsidiary Thesis—

(1) X-ray Diffraction in Liquid Alloys of Sodium and Potassium.

(2) Optical Properties of Amethyst Quartz.

(3) Permanent Deformations by Contact of Solids.

University of Calcutta

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Calcutta University Regulations. Demy 8vo, pp. 536+xx.

Asamiya Sahityar Chaneki, Vol. I, Part I, edited by Hemchandra Goswami. Royal 8vo, pp. 355+72. Rs. 8.

Arabic Historians, by Dr. D. S. Margoliouth. Demy 8vo, pp. 160+x. Rs. 2.

Vedanta Paribhasha (*Second Edition*), by Mahamahopadhyay Anantakrishna Sastri. Royal 8vo, pp. 539. Rs. 6.

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Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar, by Dr. Prabhatchandra Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo., pp. 348+16. Rs. 5.

Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. III, Part II, edited by Rai D. C. Sen, Bahadur, D.Litt. Royal 8vo., pp. 544+36.

BOOKS IN THE PRESS IN APRIL, 1930.

1. Development of Indian Railways, by Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

2. Descriptive Catalogue of Old Bengali Manuscripts in the University Library, Vol. III, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.

3. History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, by Prof. M. Winternitz, translated into English by Mrs. S. Ketkar.

4. Siddhanta-Sekhara, edited by Pandit Babua Misra, Jyotishacharyya.

5. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XX.

6. Surya-Siddhanta, edited with notes by Mr. Phanindralal Ganguli, M.A., P.R.S.

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9. Studies in Indian History, by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), B.Lit. (Oxon.).

10. Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. IV, Part, edited with Introduction and Notes by Rai Dineschandra Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.

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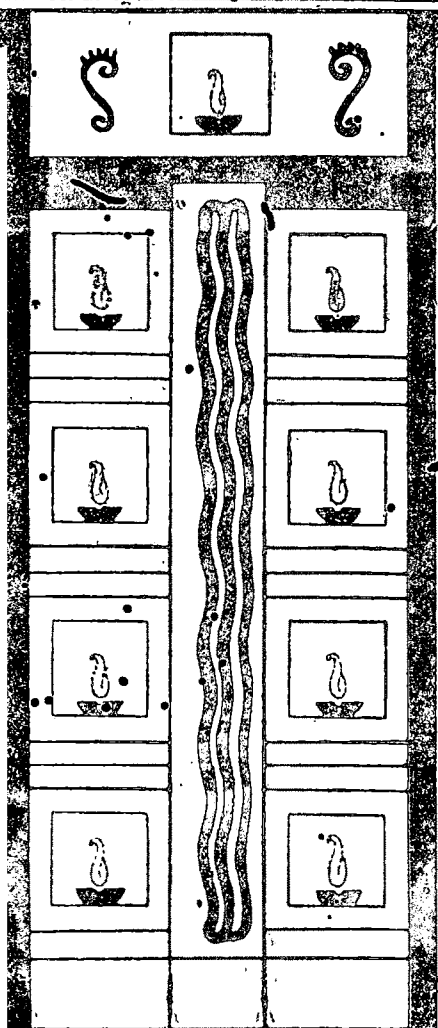

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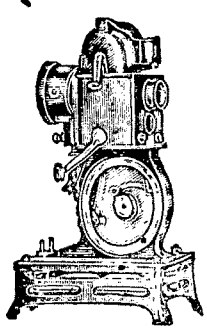

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Need of a School of Foreign Languages in Connection with Calcutta University—Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., Munich.

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86. Rosenkranz, the Philosopher—Cyril Modak.
87. Wireless and its Possibilities—T. Nemo, Kensington.
88. The Ethical Basis of Philosophy—Harimohan Bhattacharyya, M.A.
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90. An Empire Metal—A. E. Tomilson, London.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1930.

CONTENTS

	Page.
The Annual Convocation Address of the Vice-Chancellor ...	155
Mathematics and Education—John Maclean, M.A. ...	165
Popular Control of the Purse—How far it is effective in England, France, U.S.A. and India—Akshaykumar Ghosal, M.A.	173
Italian Literature—G. Tucci, Professor, University of Rome	182
History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company—Parimal Ray, M.A.	193
Deceit in Resignation (*Poem*)—Mohinimohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L.	200
King Lear—Katharine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D., Scotland	201
The Future Outlook of the Indian Joint Stock Banks—B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A.	209
The Art of Maeterlinck—Jitendranath Dasgupta, M.A. ...	219
Cupid's Biography—G. Kar, M.A., Ph.D.	227
Music and Musicians—Leland J. Berry	230
Poems of India—Lily S. Anderson	233
The Viceroy's English Home—W. R. Shepherd ...	235
Why America has become so Great?—Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D.	241

Page.

Daughter of the Sun (*Poem*)—Cyril Modak 244

The Ninth Section of the Regulating Act of 1773—A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (London) 245

The Tale of Chaddanta (*Poem*)—Marion Isabel Angus ... 251

The Philosophy of Shelley—Prof. Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A. 253

REVIEWS :

The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar—Chintaharan Chakravarti 264

Mysticism in Bhāgavat Gīta—S. M. 265

The Adyar Pamphlets, Nos. 133-135—A. D. 267

OURSELVES :

I.E. and B.E. Examinations 273

Law Examination Dates 273

Result of the Intermediate Examination in Law, Jan., 1930. 274

Result of the Final B.L. Examination, Jan., 1930 ... 275

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1930

THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION ADDRESS OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR[1]

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADY JACKSON, MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On this the third occasion on which you have visited the University as our Chancellor, we offer you our cordial welcome and express our gratitude to you for the interest you continue to take in the University, in its present doings and its immediate future. In the problems which will confront us in that immediate future and of which more will be said in the course of this address, we are confident that we can count upon Your Excellency's generous co-operation.

Another year of academic life has come to a close, and we hope that the strenuous work in which many of the members of the University have been engaged, has meant progress in certain directions. It has been a year of comparative peace within the central portion of the University, and the interruptions of regular work which occurred in one or two of the Colleges, were not of long duration and are now happily things of the past.

As a University, we have suffered some serious losses in the course of the year. The late Maharajadhiraj Sir Rameshwar

[1] Delivered at the Senate House, February 8, 1930.

Singh, G.C.I.E., of Durbhanga, was an Honorary Fellow of the University, and it is to his munificence that we owe the Durbhanga Building which has been for many years a useful centre of our work. We offer our sympathy as a University to his family, as also to the family of the late Maharaja Sir Manindrachandra Nandy, K.C.I.E., of Cossimbazar, who was an exceedingly generous benefactor of the University and of many other educational institutions, and who will long be remembered as one of the most versatile and earnest promoters of learning, as well as one of the most unselfish of men, whom modern India has known. We also mourn the death of Nawabzada Ashraf-uddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., who, since 1890, has been a Fellow (or Honorary Fellow) of this University, and, in his earlier days, gave valuable assistance on the Arabic and Persian Boards of Studies.

Through the retirement of Dr. George Howells of Serampore College, the University has lost the services of one who devoted much time and energy to what were, in his view, the best interests of the University. He was a member of innumerable committees, and took an active and useful part in the deliberations of the Senate. He was specially interested in the Post-Graduate Department and contributed greatly to its development and strengthening.

Two of the members of our professorial staff have been absent during the year. Sir C. V. Raman, whom we congratulate upon the honour of Knighthood bestowed upon him since our last Convocation, has just returned from a triumphant scientific progress in the West, where he has been lecturing before the leading Universities and Scientific Societies of Great Britain and the Continent of Europe, and has received, amongst other distinctions, the very rare honour of an honorary degree from the University of Freiburg. Prof. Radhakrishnan has been creating a great impression by his lectures in Oxford, and I have heard that when he goes to London, he, ever loyal to his national garb, is apt to be stopped in Regent Street and thanked by unknown

admirers for the inspiration of his addresses. Mr. H. C. Ray has just returned to the department of History with a London Ph.D. to his credit, and a remarkable series of testimonials to the value of his work from the most widely recognised authorities in his subject.

Meantime their colleagues in Calcutta have not been idle. Dr. Dineshchandra Sen has been continuing his work upon *Eastern Bengal Ballads*, having already published six substantial volumes. Dr. Haldar has been increasing his reputation as a writer upon Hegelian philosophy. Dr. Banerjea has been adding to the volume of his work in Economics, and Dr. Stella Kramrisch has written a very considerable portion of an important German Encyclopædia of Asiatic Art. The scientists also have not been without their meed of recognition. *Nature*, one of the best-known scientific journals, speaks of the work of Prof. J. N. Mukherjee in Colloid Chemistry "as having established his reputation throughout the scientific world as an eminent worker in this subject" and describes his recent address before the Science Congress as "an excellent example of the great progress which India has made in science during the last twenty years." Prof. P. N. Ghosh and his immediate associates have been contributing important articles to the same journal as well as to other scientific reviews. In a recent article the leading scientists of Britain described the quality of the Indian research in Pure Physics in terms which Prof. Raman modestly declares to be excessively generous, but in which we suspect there is a very considerable amount of truth. These are simply outstanding examples which go to show that work of a very advanced character is being done in this University, and that many of the members of our staff are acquiring a reputation which has travelled far beyond the bounds of Bengal, and even of India.

One of the most important events in the year has been the setting up, after prolonged negotiation, of an Arbitration Board. This has been welcomed by teachers as giving them an added

sense of security, and it is hoped that it will fulfil the expectations which have been formed regarding it.

Committee meetings during the year have been incessant. One of them, to which Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee gave able secretarial assistance, was appointed to formulate the latest views of the University upon the subject of the Secondary Education Bill, and these views were for the most part endorsed by the Senate. They represent an adjustment of the tradition which left secondary education in a position of somewhat uncertain equilibrium between the control of the Education Department and the University, to the newer conception that there should be a special Board entrusted with the management of this particular form of education. The chief difficulty was to state adequately and fairly the relation which the proposed Board should hold to the University on the one hand and the Education Department on the other, and it is hoped that the solution offered by the University, which represents a very considerable compromise between opposing views, will commend itself favourably to the Legislature.

Another important Committee dealt with the situation which has arisen owing to the fact that the existing arrangement with the University in respect of the Post-Graduate Department in particular comes to an end in the course of this year. The Committee was appointed with a view to ascertaining the academic requirements necessary to preserve, consolidate and stimulate the essential features of the present scheme of teaching and research; and to suggest any changes which might be necessary in the constitution of the different administrative and academic bodies with a view to securing more effective economic co-ordination of resources and activities. It considered, amongst other things, the possibility of a more economical organisation of the offices, and attempted, either directly or through sub-committees, to arrive at a correct estimate of the financial situation which would arise if the teaching and research activities of the University were to be placed on a satisfactory

basis. No one will deny the comprehensiveness of this aim or the diligence of the members of the Committee. Their patience was at times almost completely exhausted, but they returned to the task with surprising renewals of vigour, and were able, faint yet pursuing, to hold no fewer than seventy-six meetings, greatly assisted by the indefatigable labours of the two Secretaries, Mr. S. P. Mookerjee and Dr. J. N. Mukherjee. I think also the Members of the Committee will unanimously agree that a special debt of gratitude is owed by the University to Dr. W. A. Jenkins for his assiduous toil in connection with this work. The Committee accumulated and attempted to digest—with what success I shall not presume to say—an enormous amount of information. The Report has been placed before the Senate and will be discussed at a meeting a week hence. It is, therefore, not possible to discuss at the present stage the merits of its conclusions. It is enough to say that the Report, contrary to the initial expectation of many, is in form unanimous, although the minutes of dissent on particular points are numerous. It represents an attempt to get rid of certain difficulties which have emerged in course of the years in the present organisation, difficulties which I make bold to say the illustrious founder of the present system, to whom the University will ever be conscious of owing an immeasurable debt, would have been the first to recognise as demanding consideration. Our aim has been to place the teaching and research activities of the University on a more satisfactory basis; and we agreed on one thing, namely, that it was unfair to the teachers of the University that the present uncertainty regarding the tenure of their appointments should continue. We were also unitedly of opinion that the activities of the University which it was essential to maintain, could not be carried on except through an expenditure which would involve an increase of resources. This may seem to some a startling and unwelcome conclusion, but I may point out that, in recent years, accounts have been balanced only through considerable trenching upon a temporary University

reserve which is now almost completely exhausted, or will be exhausted at the end of the present financial year. After that the current income of the University will not be able to meet the expenditure.

Is the solution then to be the cutting down of our expenditure? I can only say that this seems to me impossible to any appreciable extent unless the activities of the University are to be very seriously hampered, and I think all the members of the committee would agree with me. The necessity for economy was never far from the mind of any one of us, but we were also of opinon that efficiency is of even greater importance and that, if due regard is to be had to this, involving fairness of treatment to the members of our staff, and if we are to be properly appreciative of the traditions and present opportunities of our University, the total expenditure cannot be diminished and may even have to be slightly increased. I think I am right in saying that this is the main trend of our Report. I am aware that the University is taking a heavy responsibility in suggesting this further inroad upon the resources which are available for the educational needs of Province, and if I thought that the suggestion arose from a disregard of other educational necessities or was made with a view to perpetuating inefficiency and extravagance or even in order to maintain the *status quo* simply for the sake of maintaining it, I personally would have nothing to do with advocating this generosity. I do not pretend that all is well in every respect with the Post-Graduate Department—it is not in any human institution to claim perfection—neither do I deny that, in many respects and in certain directions, there is room for alteration and improvement and economy. But I think that, taking a view of the whole situation, there is abundant justification even for increased expenditure should that be found to be necessary, and I appeal to the Local Government for a generous treatment of the needs of the University, should that be found to be possible—and I think it is possible—without undue sacrifice of other educational interests.

In this Province, in the thoughts of the people, the University is regarded as standing at the summit and as forming an integral part of the whole educational system, and its welfare is regarded as affecting the welfare of the whole. In illustration of this, I may mention that, within the last few days, the sum of Rs. 10,000 has been offered *to the University* for the improvement of primary education in the villages of Bengal, the whole sum to be expended within the next two years, and that this gift has been accepted by the Syndicate, with a grateful recognition of the confidence indicated.

We have in this University an heritage which we cannot afford to despise or neglect or even maintain in a state of merely partial efficiency. Especially is it necessary in these critical days that the resources of the country should be liberally devoted to the training of the future leaders of the country so that they may be sent out properly equipped for the difficult life they will have to live. Would it be considered out of place in this connection to repeat the suggestion made elsewhere that the Government of India might recognise that some of the achievements of this University are of national and imperial importance and deserve corresponding support and encouragement? Even in these days of the equalising of the rights of all the provinces, there might be still some sentimental as well as practical regard for the first-born amongst the Indian Universities. Is it too much to throw out the hint that more amongst the great merchants both Indian and European whose firms owe so very much to the loyal service in their offices of the humbler alumni of our Colleges might turn from superficial criticism to positive assistance of our education and make substantial contributions to educational funds which would enable us to elevate the whole standard of that training about which in their lighter moods they sometimes make merry but upon which the prosperity of their business so essentially depends? It would indeed be a profitable investment, for it would yield a return of good-will towards those who at present so largely control the industrial

development of the country, and would do much to remove the bitter spirit of envy and constant talk of exploitation which are so prevalent in regard to those whose own energy and capacity and perseverance have led in so many cases to such amazingly profitable results.

In respect of finance generally it may be said that this University is, as in so many other countries, on the horns of a dilemma. If it is to depend upon internal resources, *i.e.*, upon fee income, it can do so only by increasing the number of the students, which means lowering its standards and so exposing itself to the criticism of academic worthlessness. If it is to keep its standards high, it must limit the number of its students, diminish its income and find itself a pauper unless, as, again, every other University in the world does, it is to draw more largely upon external assistance, either in the shape of Government grants or private benefactions.

I turn from these mundane but necessary considerations to offer the congratulations of the University to you who, to-day, are receiving your degrees. It is a great event in your lives, and you are now proceediug to higher studies in which you will be still more closely associated with the University, or you are going out into the world to occupy responsible positions, and, in many cases, to become leaders amongst your fellow countrymen. I offer you the sincere good wishes of the University for your success. I trust that you will take with you some clear consciousness of what University training ought to do for you and what, I hope, it has done.

A University trained man or woman ought to be able to exercise a balanced judgment, to extract the soul of good out of the confusions of controversy, or the truly valuable out of that which seems to be indifferent. You will usually find that beneath the vehemently expressed dogmas of opposing controversialists there are truths upon which both sides can agree. It is for the cultured men of the country to drag these confused and covered truths out into the clear light of day. Men may be

divided in opinion as to the particular kind of political status they want, but they are not divided in their belief that India has peculiar traditions and aptitudes of her own. It is for the University teachers and the students guided by them, through patient study of past history and present facts, properly to appreciate that tradition and cultivate those capacities. The spinning wheel may be viewed by different people with varying degrees of practical respect, but there would probably be unanimity in regard to the idea symbolised by it, *viz.*, that, in the inevitable development of industrialism, India should be saved as much as possible from some of the terrible accompaniments of the first beginnings of industrialism in the West and should discover some method of uniting the expansion of industry with increasing care for the welfare and individuality of the worker. Is it necessary for the prosperity of the people that so frequently as in the West, the fair countryside should be darkened by the smoke of multitudinous factory chimneys, that people should leave the open country for the crowded city streets where they jostle one another for a livelihood and have hardly room to breathe ? It is for the University trained men to put positive meaning into the demands of the people, to see that the national unity which is so passionately desired is no empty shell but an opportunity for faithful service of the commonwealth, leading to a removal of the spirit of indifference which separates class from class and a growing consciousnes that the health and economic and spiritual prosperity of the people are the concern first of all of those who have had the special preparation for life which a University can give. The destinies of India can best be accomplished by the increase of her own internal strength. The development of a people comes from within and not from without, and it is for you students and graduates of the University to guide that development in the years that are to come.

Education by lessening illiteracy and in connection with the present enthusiasm for the education of women is bringing everywhere new forces into being, and it is for you to guide

these forces into the service of a better organised society. The University ought to take the lead in the regrouping of natural and historical groups, so that they may cease to be mutually antagonistic, and may be serviceable to higher ends. It is for you, graduates of the University, to take the lead in this regrouping and reorganisations, and the best wish that we can wish for you is that you may be conscious of your high calling and great opportunities; and zealously endeavour to be faithful to that spirit of enlightenment and sympathy and goodwill which your University, by its essential nature, is pledged to cultivate. The late Swami Vivekananda said once : "My whole ambition is to set in motion a machinery which will bring noble ideas to the door of every one." If the University has brought to you any noble ideas, it will have fulfilled its task, and if you open the doors of your minds to these ideas, communicate them to others and live by them, you will not fail in that future of great promise which lies before you.

VII—MATHEMATICS AND EDUCATION[1]

The Test of Teaching

In the preceding articles we have considered in a very general manner a number of diverse ways in which graphical and statistical means may be of signal service to the student. The applications to the sciences were touched on but lightly, though evidently the instances that could be collected are well nigh without end. It is a thought-provoking task to try to arrange these from the point of view of mathematics, but this is not the place to do so. (It is hoped in the pages of "The Calcutta Review" to carry still further the analysis that has already been outlined in the articles "Mathematics and Life.") An even more stimulating task it is to decide how this material may be passed on to students; in actual teaching the abilities and the demands of a class give quite a new aspect to the subject-matter.

The Key Device.

It was realised early that the slide rule would play a most important part in making it feasible to teach much else that was laid down as desirable. And so, right at the beginning, the aim was to lead the class by as direct a route as possible to a position in which they could look at this instrument with understanding and not merely use it mechanically. But even so it was not realised how dominant would be the position taken by the slide scale (as it seems better to call it, though to do so may upset the dictionaries) in a course like the present. The slide scale does not look imposing; and it is still sufficiently unfamiliar to the man in the street to lend itself to a certain amount of ridicule, as being somewhat presumptuous in its readiness to displace so very much of the beloved apparatus of arithmetic, not to mention trigonometry. "Push-stick" was the nick-name

[1] Reprinted from "*The Times of India*," dateJ 29th July and 26th August, 1929.

given to an engineering student who, alone among his fellows, had discovered its supreme utility in his work. With such thoughts in the background, no special emphasis was laid on the slide scale in what was written before.

A Friendly Critic.

A friendly critic pointed this out at once, and his remarks are worth quoting now for their insight ; for though I acquiesced in his opinions, I did not realise till later how literally true were even his most enthusiastic words. He said : " I am afraid you pass too lightly over the advantages of the use of the slide rule. I would recommend that the student be taught at an early date the use of the rule and be kept constantly at it. Practice on it improves his facility for—

(1) reading functional scales and alignment charts,
(2) interpolating between graduations,
(3) handy manipulations, and,
(4) giving a proper sense of approximate values.

I have known cases where inability to use slide rules (and this with engineers !) has caused great difficulty in reading ordinary functional scales. Of course, I am rather biased in favour of the rule, as I have used it for nearly ten years practically every day ; and would less think of being without it in the office than, let us say, my hat ! "—and this though my friend is a Parsi. A professor of Chemistry in the mofussil also bears testimony to this agony of the slide scale. Accompanying a cheque for Rs. 15 came a note ; " I've lost my slide rule. Please send another at once. I feel as if I had lost a limb ! "

Common-sense compelled.

Here we cannot go into details as to what the slide scale can accomplish ; these must be reserved for treatment in " The Calcutta Review." It need only be remarked that the slide scale has made it practicable to attempt to teach several things which before were ruled out as impossible—among these being matters

even of almost purely theoretical interest. I would but emphasise my friend's (4)—the slide scale as a teacher of commonsense in measurement. An American friend writes of his having seen at a German railway station the height placarded as 1127·3105 metres! But there is no need to go so far afield to illustrate this lack of a feeling for the significant in measurement; one of the most frequent complaints made by teachers of physics and of chemistry is of the difficulty in getting students to appreciate when the digits in a number have or have not a meaning. By the slide scale too would certainly be overcome the difficulty mentioned by examiners last year in getting agricultural students to make use of the decimal system.

One feature of the classwork was its marked contrast with the usual college-mathematics. A combined exercise was planned with a view to getting a large number of measurements from which a meaning might be educed. The lengths, etc., of two or three hundred almond tree leaves were measured, each student measuring about ten leaves. To classify the measures the students were appointed in twos to record frequencies in specified classes thus: 1 of length 22 cms., 0 of length 23, 5 of length 24, and so on. A quite unexpected result was put when their counts were set out on the blackboard for further examination. No pair of students agreed with any other as to the distribution of the measurements! The work had seemed quite simple, though a trifle laborious, and it was very surprising that so many mistakes had been made in carrying out so straightforward a piece of work. Here was a quite unpremeditated link between Mathematics and Law! Neither teacher nor student was sufficiently interested in the problem to go back to do the counting again. Perhaps the lack of zeal for drudgery was excusable; for when similar discrepant records are obtained under practical conditions, re-counts are often impossible; the best way of keeping in touch with actuality was to go ahead with the results obtained likely miscounts were eliminated as far as possible, and then by comparison the contradictions in the evidence furnished by the

students themselves were removed, and what seemed to be the "probable" truth decided. It was, evidently, a salutary lesson for the students to have to criticise and evaluate the errors they themselves had undeniably committed.

Algebra v. *Geometry.*

It ought to be noted that in such exercises may be obtained the educational value usually associated, for those who are able to appreciate them, with geometrical examples. The point is put very clearly in Cresswell's emphasised words: "There exists this manifest distinction between a synthetic proof in Geometry and an analytical process in Algebra, that in order to comprehend the former *the whole claim of reasoning* must be kept in view, as it is continued from the beginning of the proposition to the end. Whilst in pursuing the latter method the attention is fixed only upon *each single step*, as each of them successively offers itself; and the conclusion is to be admitted independently of all but the last of them, whenever it is arrived at. Stronger and *more unceasing attention*, therefore, is required in the former case than in the latter, and the *judgment*, as well as the memory, is *called more urgently into action.*" A century later Sir Joseph Larmor used a striking metaphor to express this important limitation of algebra, and added a remark that applies to our consideration of science generally as well as to physics: "Algebraic analysis," he said, "outside the realm of computation has to run in blinkers, though they may be ultramundane as in multiplex geometry; only in combination with a general physical intuition does it become the source and expression of expanded outlook."

VIII—ESSENCE OF THE SCHEME

Why do we waste time, and distort outlook, by subjecting students to a training in a type of mathematics such as for the great majority has no meaning, save as an examination-passing device? Why should we treat the remedying of this as the

concern only of the mathematician? Why need the teaching of other subjects be impoverished through allowing the traditional views of the nature and the scope of mathematics to dominate our educational practice? Such are the questions that have been raised in this series of articles, especially with regard to the curriculum for the First Year in Bombay University. An endeavour has been made to show how these questions may be met in a really constructive way—it is now simply a question of working out details and making adjustments. The application of the solution will naturally be in the hands of the mathematics teacher. He may be conservative by nature, well content with the intellectual pleasures to which he has been accustomed. But he is not so lacking in ability that he will find real difficulty in adjusting himself to a new situation; nor is he so wanting in public spirit that he will refuse his help where it is asked. It is indeed only as teachers with other special interests, and others who are alert to a changing situation, realise how students suffer at present and also what is the nature of the remedy to be applied, that a real corrective can generally be utilised in a satisfactory way in the near future.

Hand and Eye.

We have considered in the last article some special features of the work in class. The main part of this work, however, does not lend itself to general comment. It consists largely of drill in fundamental manipulations. The scheme that is being followed has been found in its main features to stand the test of actual teaching. How far it will meet the needs of students in their future studies will take some years yet to reveal. The conviction grows that for specialist mathematics students at any rate it will be an advantage thus early to have their outlook broadened, and to be set to train themselves in the use of other devices than the mere manipulation of symbols. In fact it has become a standing joke in some of our advanced mathematics classes to point out how the work there would have been illumi-

nated and facilitated if in their First Year work the students had been disciplined as advocated in " Graphs and Statistics ! "

However much applications be stressed in the proposed course, intelligent *discipline* will be the keynote, as indeed it ought to be in all mathematical teaching. This impression may be confirmed from comments reported to have been made on the examination paper set at the end of the term. After looking over the questions, a distinguished physicist, who has daily experience of the demands made by science on mathematics, affirmed that the paper represented just the kind of knowledge of mathematics with which an ordinary student ought to be equipped. With him was one whose interests are wide, though mainly literary; he, having scanned the paper, disclaimed any competence to make a positive valuation but he declared that for his part he failed to see how the examination showed any closer connection with Life than the ordinary type of mathematical paper ! Than these two comments taken together none could be more satisfactory. Chesterton has pointed out that the " simple " life is apt to be the self-conscious life; we may be closest to Life when we are thinking least about it. *Verb. sap.*

The Inner Eye.

Another note ought to sound clearly in the working of this scheme, though the educational instrument is too clogged and damped yet to let it resonate clearly. It is impossible to overemphasise the importance of poise in the attitude we try to get our students to learn; it is an educational gem with many facets. Its essential quality was suggested in the general aim set out in our first article, " not so much a concrete knowledge of science as a scientific outlook, a scientific habit of thought." (Passion we leave to the poets.) Poise too lights up even questions of severe intellectual discipline. In the study of advanced mathematics emphasis is nowadays laid on the need for setting out a train of reasoning without appeal to any graphical representation. At present most mathematical students have training in the use of only

the most elementary graphs and they are really ignorant of graphical properties and limitations. On the one hand they fail to perceive how light might be shed by graphs on the best line to follow through many an argument in mathematics; or, if they take such aid, they are unable ever to be independent of it, for they have not realised just how graphs fail. On the other hand they may learn parrotwise of the risks in making reasoning depend upon graphs, and so submit themselves to a dogmatism nearly as depressing as any that theologian or atheist could impose. Professor Eddington sums up the truth as regards graphs in two sentences, which may well be quoted though both occur in connection with some of his most advanced writing about Relativity. "Graphical representation," he says, "is serviceable as a tool, but is dangerous as an obsession." And again, "World-geometry is very like other graphs: if wisely chosen it may exhibit or suggest relationships, provide useful nomenclature, and generally assist the mind in orderly thought."

In connection with the practical uses of graphs we have the need for poise exhibited in the judgment of the late Sir George Knibbs, the famed statistician of Australasia: "The more we graphed our statistics the better, especially for the public; and when we become more intelligent we should have series of graphs and would not be troubled with long lists of figures." Like snapshots graphs may be superficial; but a discriminating training in thus snapshotting aspects of truth would be very valuable.

For an expression of this attitude of detachment, or of criticism, as regards ideas themselves, let us take the words of one who, in that he last operated on the King, may be regarded as most eminent among surgeons in Britain. Professor Trotter's words are: "In science the primary duty of ideas is to be useful and interesting even more than to be 'true.' We must be ready to entertain ideas freely and fairly, and no less ready to discard them without regret, glad enough when we gain an unexpected glint from 'the blank face of familiar things.'" And he quotes the aphorism, "Do not believe new ideas; use them."

Investigate!

It is hoped that the continuation of the practical testing of our scheme may be possible. As it happened, last session the students who took this course were not on the whole those most brilliant in mathematical studies: even the budding mathematician appears to be conservative; at least most mathematicians like to feel they are building on rock! It is a great gain, however, to have demonstrated that this new scheme can be so adapted as to be workable with the students who might find it most difficult. It is unsafe to generalise from the impressions of one year's work; but, as it may not seem surprising, it may be remarked that this new type of mathematics seems much better suited to women students than the old. (Very much depends, of course, on the start given in schools, and girls' schools have an unhelpful reputation of being defective in teaching mathematics.) Perhaps the greater emphasis in this new course on constructive manipulations of one kind and another, make a special appeal to women students. The new course also makes an *imperative* demand for neatness (as has been explained before) and the average woman finds it easier to meet this demand than the average man. It was refreshing too to encounter in some women students an almost rebellious vigour in the way they dealt with examination questions—mathematics become obvious?

However all this may be, the sum of the matter, and here we may leave it, is that as far as the test has gone, this new discipline has proved salutary for all, not excepting the mathematical specialists, in whose supposed interests other students have hitherto been sacrificed. There is an opportunity here for an investigation, as systematic as in medicine, and as comprehensive as in economics, into the nature of the mathematical training that will be beneficial to students of all types.

(*Concluded.*)

JOHN MACLEAN

POPULAR CONTROL OF THE PURSE—HOW FAR IT IS EFFECTIVE IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, U. S. A. AND INDIA

Now the question is how far the people excercise real control over the national purse. But control of the purse may mean two things,—it may mean either control of the administration through the power of the purse or control of the fiscal policy of state through the power of framing and passing the budget. The English people or their representatives in Parliament have the power of the purse in the first sense but not in the second sense. The American people apparently have it in both senses; but looking below the surface of things it will appear that they cannot be said to be the true custodian of the purse of the nation. The house of Representatives can thwart the Executive by refusing supplies for the national services but cannot turn it out. The Executive can go on merrily in complete indifference to the hostile attitude of the Legislature exercising its ordinary and emergency legal powers without violating the constitution until the weapon employed by the Legislature recoils on its own head. If the national services are neglected due to refusal of supplies by the Legislature the Executive will not be held to account for it by the nation but the Legislature. Hence control of the purse by the Congress in the first sense becomes a myth. Next so far as control in the second sense is concerned it is at best imperfect. Unlike the English system there is no ban on any private member of the House bringing in fiscal proposals or changing the proposals informally made by the Executive—for the Executive is not there to present the budget formally. As the responsibility for the fiscal programme of the year as a whole cannot be located in any particular authority—the Executive, individual members of the Congress and the Committees of both Houses all having some share—neither

the Legislature nor the people can bring anybody to account for extravagance or stinginess or for any blunder in policy or administration. There is no consistent financial policy of the Government strictly speaking, everything depending on the accident of constitution of committees in the House and the Senate, these even sometimes working at cross purposes. In these circumstances popular control of finance is a sham unless we use the term to mean the power of particular sections of people or particular localities to get some fiscal proposal touching revenue or expenditure carried by bringing pressure on individual members of the Congress and through the practice of "log-rolling;" but the people have no power in their hands to get the fiscal system adjusted to the changing circumstances of the time. Amidst this chaos the fiscal system of U. S. A. would have completely collapsed but for the exeptionally happy revenue prospects of the country; but even so it could not bear the strain of the last Great War and the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 aiming as it does to introduce some degree of centralisation is an index of the inherent weakness of the system. It may be expected that popular opinion in U. S. A. would demand further centralisation and concentration of responsibility for the financial policy and administration. Only with complete unification of responsibility can popular control of the purse become something real and effective.

Now to pass on to the French system. The situation in France stands midway between the English and the American. The frame-work of the financial machinery as well as the fundamental principles regulating its working is almost alike in England and France and in direct contrast to the American system. But they lead to different results in the two countries as the Parliamentary type of Government has assumed different shapes on two sides of the English Channel due to social and historical causes. The initiative in financial matters in the compilation of the budget and its submission to the Parliament has been, as in England, made over to the Executive. But when in Parliament

the Minister of France as the mouth-piece of the Cabinet in financial matters has not the same control over the Government's fiscal proposals as his counterpart in England has got. Moreover all the revenue proposals do not originate with the Government, and are not embodied in the Finance Bill. Direct taxes are authorized earlier in the session in a special measure passed by Parliament just to place the local bodies in a position to frame their budgets with full knowledge of the aids they would secure from the Central Government.

The proposals of the Minister of finance are referred to the Budget Committee which is by far the strongest Committee in the Chamber. Not only the budget proposals but all money bills or bills involving charges on the national exchequer are referred to it. Previously once the finance bill was referred to the budget Committee ; it completely slipped out of the control of the finance minister. The proposals of the Government were freely tampered with by the members of the committee even to the extent of substituting its own conclusions for those of the Government. There was not only discussion in general principles but minute scrutiny of the appropriate proposals for every branch of public service by sub-committees appointed for the purpose. As a result of action of the committee, the whole financial policy of the Government was sometimes completely upset.

" The committee pays hardly any attention to the budget prepared by the ministers" wrote Leon Say in 1896 " and considers itself charged with preparing the budget as if it were the minister. * * * The committee regards itself as a government and the reporters are its ministers."

Of late, however, the situation has changed considerably and we might say with Dr. Sait "such language would not apply to the practice that has prevailed in the last fifteen or twenty years and specially since the adoption of proportional representation in the choice of committees. Only *with great moderation and with the approval of the Government does the Commitee now use its*

right of initiative."[1] Now-a-days the committee would not entertain any proposals for materially altering the Government scheme, without the acquiescence of the ministers of finance. Moreover by the new method of constitution of the committee the Government can manage to secure a majority for themselves to thwart any such attempt. "The disappearance of the old spirit of rivalry is seen in the persistent refusal of the committee to make special reports on private member bills which call for supplementary appropriations; initiative is left to Government."[2]

Then there has been an approach towards the English system of unification of responsibility in the Cabinet when the departmental budgets come back to the chamber in report the minister of finance once again comes to the forefront in all the discussions that follow. He speaks with the authority of the whole Cabinet at his back and no increase or reduction of credits is accepted by the ministers without his consent.

But with all these attempts at unification of responsibility for financial administration the French system has not yet attained to perfect unity of control noticeable in the English. First of all there is no rule in France as in England which reserves absolutely to the Government the right of initiating money bills and of proposing, by way of amendment to such bills increases in the original figures. All the same there is a conscious attempt at repudiation of this pernicious principle of private members' initiative in many matters which often lends itself to infinite corruption. In 1900 the Chamber adopted the famous Barthelot resolution which has been incorporated in its rules by which no private member may offer an amendment to the budget, which would create new offices or pensions or increase existting pensions or salaries.

Then again the vicious system of tacking riders to the finance act has been put a stop to in 1913.

[1] E. M. Sait—Govt. and Politics of France, pp. 206.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 27.

Secondly even after the recent reform of the system of organisation of committees of the chamber the fact remains that once finance bills get into the Committee Chamber they slip out of the control of the Cabinet. The Budget Committee has been given a free hand to introduce any amendment it likes. The bill may come back to the chamber mutilated beyond recognition and out of accord with the financial policy of the Government.

Thus it is that control of the purse being divided between two rival bodies—the Cabinet and the Chamber—the people cannot affix the responsibility for mismanagement of finances in either of them. But the bane of the French system is as Dr. Sait has pointed out, " the absence of any coherent and enduring majority in the Chamber of Deputies." Responsible government is a misnomer without a stable working majority to support the Executive in Parliament. The people cannot possibly exercise control over the purse directly but they can do so indirectly by bringing pressure to bear on the government of the day if the governments happen to be their nominee or the nominee of a majority of them. But in the present situation of parties in France the people have no direct hand in the creation of the Cabinet. The formation of the Cabinet is more or less a matter of chance combinations in Parliament. It is not the direct off-shoot of general election as in England where there are ordinarily two dominant rival parties with definite and clear issues and the people are in a position to choose between the two on the merits of their programmes. [1]

Unless and until this canker in the parliamentary system in France is removed the people cannot exercise effective control over any field of national affairs—finance, administration or legislation.

It would be rather ridiculous to drag in India into this comparative study, because Indian constitution cannot by any

[1] Of late however the condition of parties in England shows signs of approximating to the continental type as is shown by the results of the last three general election.

stretch of imagination be brought under the category we have just now considered. However the goal of India has been definitely declared to be full responsible government and the first step towards it is alleged to have been already taken. So an attempt at such a contrast may at least serve the useful purpose of bringing home to us the immense ground we have yet to cover before we can claim to have a truly democratic constitution; for popular control of the purse is, so to say, the first pre-requisite to democracy. Now so far as popular control of the purse is concerned, the Constitutional Reforms of 1919 have hardly made any advance on the situation as it existed before.

As for the Central Government the Act of 1919 has not sought to introduce any element of responsibility into it. It has only effected some change in the Legislative machinery making it bicameral and broadening the basis of representation in the Lower House. But the Executive is in no way responsible to the Assembly. The budget is introduced in the lower House and the demands for grants are submitted to the vote of the Assembly; of course no proposal for appropriation of revenue can be made except on the recommendation of the Governor-General. The Assembly has three courses open to it in regard to these, *viz.*, " to assent, or refuse its assent to any demand or reduce the amount referred to in any demand by a reduction of the whole grant." [Sec. 67 (A) 6 Government of India Act 1919.] But these powers of refusal or reduction are for purposes of control of administration or finance quite immaterial. Moreover they do not extend to all the proposals for appropriation; for a considerable portion of them has been set apart as non-votable, neither house has got the authority even to discuss them " unless the Governor-General otherwise directs." Its action on the budget proposals is at best a pious expression of the mind of the legislature, for the Governor-General has been given an absolute veto over the decision of the Assembly. He has simply to certify that a particular demand refused or

reduced by the Assembly " is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities " and it is automatically restored, the action of the Legislative Assembly being simply ignored. It has been made clear by the Joint Select Committee of the two houses of Parliament that this power of the Governor-General is in no sense *extraordinary*. He is enjoined to exercise the power in the normal discharge of his duties inasmuch as he is ultimately responsible to British Parliament for the peace and good government of India. But this is not all. The Governor-General has not only the power of overriding the decision of the Legislative Assembly in regard to proposals for expenditure submitted to its vote but he has been given independent powers of authorising " such expenditure as may, in his opinion, be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of British India or any part thereof " under Sec. 67 A (8) of the Act. This however has of course been meant to be exercised only in emergencies. It comes to this, therefore, practically speaking the central legislature has no control whatsoever over the finances of Government of India, which remain the close pressure of an irresponsible Executive.

To come to the provinces, we find that the Act of 1919 has sought to introduce only the rudiments of responsibility here by the curious device of what has been called " dyarchy." We shall not enter into the merits or demerits, workability or otherwise of this system; we shall only see how far it has promoted popular control of the purse. Here also as in the Central Government some of the items of expenditure have been removed from the risk of a vote in the Council and earmarked as non-voteable. With regard to the other items in the budget, *i.e.*, those which must be submitted to the vote of the Council its powers are highly circumscribed. By sec. 72 (D) 2 of the Act, the Council " may assent, or refuse its assent, to a demand, may reduce the amount therein referred to either by a reduction of the whole grant or by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed."

The initiative with regard to the proposals for appropriation of revenue rests with the executive. The Council has no authority to increase the estimates or to change the destination of grant. But even if this had been the whole story the Council could think itself blessed. The powers of the Council given above have been neutralised by the proviso to the very same section of the Act. With regard to the grants relating to the "Reserved" half of the Government the action of the Council can be quashed by a simple certificate by the Governor to the effect that the demand is essential in the discharge of his responsibility for the "subject." With regard to the grants relating to "transferred subjects" the Governor has been enjoined not to interfere, as far as practicable, with the action of the Council. Under proviso (c) to sub-section (2) of the section referred to above the Governor can of course in cases of emergency authorise such expenditure as may be in his opinion *necessary for the safety, tranquillity of the province or for the carrying on of any department.*" How far this power should be exercised in regard to Transferred Departments and if so, to what extent has not been clearly defined by the Act and depends much on the discretion and temperament of the Governor. One thing is clear that this power of the Governor is of an extraordinary character, meant to be exercised only under exceptional circumstances. So far as the Transferred Departments are concerned the Council enjoys some amount of authority over the expenditure. But this authority even has been rendered useless due to the lack of a sense of responsibility in the Council. Deprived of control over the greater portion of the estimates they exercise the little power they have been given with a vengeance in regard to these items. A sense of responsibility can only grow where members feel that the responsibility of office will devolve upon themselves in the next turn, where any refusal of grant is taken as a vote of lack of confidence in the Government and followed by its resignation and the installation of the critics of the Government in responsible positions. But none of these conditions are

fulfilled in the Indian provinces. Saddled with the power of certification and emergency power the Executive can successfully defy the opposition of the Legislature for a considerable time. Under such circumstances popular control of the purse is only a myth and a colossal hoax. Popular control of the purse can become a reality only with the transfer of all the portfolios to ministers responsible to the legislature, the withdrawal of the extraordinary powers of the Governor and his virtual conversion to a nominal head of the Executive, the growth of political parties with clear-cut issues and collective responsibility of the ministry. Unfortunately conditions in the country are far from favourable to the fulfilment of these conditions in the near future. But the thing that is of first and foremost importance on which everything else depends is the replacement of an Executive linked up *with Whitehall* by *one deriving its sanction* to govern from the children of the soil.

A democratic constitution is not worth the paper on which it is written unless it secures to the people the right to say the last word on what taxes they would pay and how the proceeds of these taxes would be spent for the good of the community.

(*Concluded.*)

AKSHAYKUMAR GHOSAL

ITALIAN LITERATURE.

The fifth century saw the end of the Roman Empire as well as that of Paganism. The one succumbed under the barbaric invasions, the other was superseded by Christianity. In the pathetical poems of Rutilius we hear the last voice of the dying religion. The violent protest of Symmachus when the Roman temples were definitely closed in obedience to an imperial order could not avert an event which was almost fatally accomplished. But it seemed as if the Gods who had been driven away from their temples were taking revenge. The grand edifice which had been built by the heroism of the Italian legions and the political wisdom of Roman leaders fell down to pieces. Just as the Roman Empire was demolished by the hordes of the barbarians continually pouring into the country from the undefended boundaries, so also classical culture vanished. Its definite burial took place when the Emperor Justinian closed the University of Athen where the last rhetoricians and philosophers had tried in vain, to defend pagan tradition from the attacks of the fathers of the church. The unity of the Roman Empire was broken for ever. The Byzantine Emperors, last scions of Constantine the Great still claimed, it is true, a nominal authority upon the country, but their power was confined only to some towns on the Adriatic coast and even that was not to last for a long time. The rest of Italy was nothing but a contending land which changed its masters at every moment. Vandals, Goths, Longobards, Normans, Francs and in Sicily Arabs, effaced the last traces of Roman culture. A kind of society was formed, military and aristocratic in its essence, which introduced even into Italy the system of social organisation, quite nordic in its origin, called feudalism, though it could never completely supersede, as we shall see later on, the peculiar traditions of our race. Side by side with this military

society specially composed of foreign elements we find another aristocracy, that of Clergymen, representing the spiritual authority, always endeavouring to assert its rights and privileges against and above the military class. It was a struggle traceable up to the very end of the Roman empire and lasting for centuries. It was to exercise a great influence even upon the literature of the Middle ages, the history of which is, in fact nothing else than a record of the various moments and phases of this incessant fight between temporal and spiritual powers. Both the currents found their supporters, and though spiritual authority seemed to triumph at Canossa when the German emperor knelt down before the Pope Gregory, the truce was only momentary, because the struggle was to be resumed at the very dawn of Italian literature in the 13th century when much blood was shed by the contending parties and the voice of Dante was heard proclaiming that both the authorities were related but independent because their sphere of action was absolutely different. However tragic it might have been, it was the struggle that helped in keeping alive even outside the scholastics, the interest in Aristotolean philosophy, the ethics of which was considered as the natural basis of those political discussions in which the time was engaged, as modern research has shown that the Middle ages were not such a dark and barbaric period as we formerly used to believe. It was on the other hand a period of extremely intense spiritual struggle during which a new civilisation was born out of so many discordant elements and the classical ideal was absorbed to some extent by the christian mind together with the German culture introduced into our country by the barbaric invasions. Still the social and historical conditions of the time were so uncertain, life was so unprotected, and the most unexpected events followed each other with such an unforseen rapidity that people firmly believed that this world was nearing its end. Was this not already foretold by the stoics when they taught that the universe would be destroyed by cosmic fire? Was not the Annus Magnus already prophesied by the

Neoplatonists? Did not the Gospels speak of the imminent day of the Parousia when we would be in the presence of God and did not the Apocalyps announce the fixed destinies of mankind? While princes were fighting and kingdoms disappearing one after the other, the largest mass of the population were searching in religion for that comfort and serenity which life seemed to preclude. The most beautiful literature of this time is religious or apocalyptical. They are specially visions or legends of saints; and nowhere has the sense of human nothingness and complete surrender to the mercy of God been so well expressed as in our romanic churches with their darkness full of mysteries, and their monsters and devils sculptured or painted on the walls.

But the whole of this literature is in Latin; sometimes it is classical Latin, strictly following the best models, but more often it is a corrupted Latin. There was then no time for education. Moreover christianity and christian mystics considered classical literature as an allurement of the devil. Still it is just in those works written in corrupted Latin and chiefly circulating among the low classes, that we find perhaps the best expressions of the literature of that time. They are simple and naive compositions whether they narrate the life of saints or describe the horrors of eternal damnation or sing of the bliss of the heaven. But even this Latin, far removed from the classical models, was no longer easily understood by the largest mass of the people. The *sermo rusticus*, the language used by the peasants and the villagers which represents the main features of the epoch took the place of literary Latin written and understood only by a few clergymen and monks. This *sermo rusticus*, like every other spoken language, followed its spontaneous development, simplifying its grammar, reducing its syntax and enriching its vocabulary by accepting new words from the language of the invaders. Thus it became a kind of *lingua franca* understood by the various inhabitants of Italy, though, of course, it had different vernacular forms each peculiar to a

particular part of the country. Thus Italian language as well as other romance languages such as French, Provençal, Spanish, etc., was slowly being formed. In the beginning we find it limited to documents of common life, such as the documents of Capua, dating from the 9th century. But it was still considered unfit for literary purposes. On the other hand the elaborate and artificial style that we find in the songs of the Sicilian school of the 13th century, undoubtedly points at a long evolution, the various moments of which we are unfortunately unable to trace out. I say unfortunately, because the first literary compositions really worth this name, which we come across, of the school which I have alluded to, are no longer popular and spontaneous songs, but artificial lucubrations of court poets. In Southern Italy, the German dynasty had superseded the old Norman kingdom and it reached an unparalelled splendour under Frederik the Second, the strenous assertor of the independence of temporal power as against the spiritual one. Considered as a heretic by the orthodox catholics and accused of being addicted to black art Frederic the Second can rightly be considered as the man who for the first time, after the dark night of the Middle ages, tried to revive the classical culture. Anticipating the example of Lorenzo il Magnifico, he invited thinkers and dialecticians to explain Aristotle and Greek philosophy. Poets and thinkers received his enlightened support. It was just in his court that the first Italian poets known to us Ciullo d'Alcamo, Jacopo da Lentino, Pier delle Vigne, King Engo, Odo delle Clonno wrote their poems. Their writings were nothing else but love songs devoid, with few exceptions, of all spontaneity and genuine inspiration. In fact as a rule, we are not confronted here with songs suggested to the poet by some strong inner emotion and written down immediately at the moment it was felt. On the other hand, in the poems of the Sicilian school, spontaneity is suffocated by the study of the form. The poet seemed to indulge in the search after the strongest images and the most elaborate

dissection of ideas which we should expect in philosophy and dialectics rather than in poetry. The fact is that poetry was then a fashion. It was a display of one's own skill by which one could also get the favour of the prince. The surroundings were therefore not very much dissimilar to the atmosphere of Sanscrit Indian poetry which essentially developed in the court of the princes, helped and patronised by them. In India also poetry was to experience the consequence of these surroundings in so far as very often the free inspiration of the artist was repressed or restrained by the rules and subtleties of the *alaṅkara-śastras* and the artificial study of the form.

The poets of this school are many, but only few are worth mentioning because if their importance is great from the historical point of view, I do not think that the same can be said as regards the artistic value of their creation. There is no personality in this literature, and therefore we are confronted with a general uniformity. This school followed strictly the models elaborated by the Provençal minstrels (troubadours) with very little, if any, originality. They always sing their love for a lady, but this lady is more an abstraction, than a reality. When they write it seems as if their soul is absent and only the mind is active. The poet expresses his desire to serve and even to die for his lady, but from the absence of any emotion and the artificiality of his poems it is quite evident that this is pure rhetoric and a mere literary attitude. The fact is that the historical and cultural conditions in the midst of which Provençal literature had developed in France were absent in our country. Feudalism was counteracted among us by the growth of free municipalities based upon the model of ancient Roman colonies which, being always engaged in fighting against the privileges of the military and ecclesiastical aristocracy, represented the chief reason why feudal civilisation of which Provençal lyrics and french epics had been the outcome could not prosper in our country. So that we can hardly expect to find in this literature as it appears in Sicily the exact expression of the

Italian soul. Nor do we find more interesting poems in Tuscany where Sicilian school had a large number of imitators: here the conditions of life were even more different from those that had helped the development of Provençal literature inasmuch as Feudalism had here been completely superseded by free municipalities, and artisans and merchants were engaged in driving away the aristocracy and establishing a popular form of self-government. The language only appears to be less rude and verses more perfect; but taken as a whole the songs are even more artificial, as may be noticed by any one who reads for instance the poems of Guittone of Arezzo written before his conversion to the Franscíscan movement. Nor does North Italy give us anything worthy of notice; here the language used by the poets was very often not even Italian but Provençal.

So from Sicily to North Italy the learned and elaborated poetry which flourished at the court of the princes is essentially an imitation of foreign models, and had but very little connection with the life of our people.

Our people still lived as I said before, in an apocalyptical atmosphere which was largely due to the miserable conditions of the time. It was a Kaliyuga for them, and it is natural that, when education is not largely diffused, life is uncertain, and man looses his confidence in human values and powers, one turns to God and directs his hopes toward the after life. A large literature was inspired by the religious anxiety of the time. Here we find songs quite different from those that we saw in the Sicilian school. They were no longer written by court poets but by unknown bards who did not care very much for the beauty of form and expression. But it is for this reason that their poems are so efficacious and powerful and fascinating as religious books very often are when they are inspired by deep and sincere experience. Many of these songs have been handed down to us in manuscripts and so we may have a fairly good idea of this literature which is the direct outcome of the religious movements that took place in central Italy, chiefly Tuscany and Umbria,

where conditions of life were particularly bad on account of the continual fights between the aristocracy and the free municipalities. It was just there that the so called Compagnie dei Flagellanti arose under the inspiration of Piero Fasacir.

The Brethern thought that the end of this world was approaching. It was necessary therefore to make penitence and prepare oneself for the great day. Long processions of people of every sex and age were seen in the countries and the towns invoking the mercy of God, beating one another with ropes in order to humiliate the body, which is the creation of the devil and to free the soul from every attachment to worldly things. They used to sing primitive songs in which the hopes and fears of men were powerfully expressed in solemn almost Biblical language. That was the spiritual atmosphere in which S. Francis was born and which saw his conversion, while all around there was the clash of arms and the horror of war. We are not interested here in his life or his religious experience. But we have to consider the movement that was inspired by him as it powerfully influenced Italian culture in general and literature in particular. Giotto and his school was largely under the influence of Franciscan reforms. Though the tradition of the Middle ages survives in his art as seen in the paintings of the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua, or in the fantastic victims of the Hell in the Bargell at Florence, still Franciscan spirit is evident in the love of nature, in the marked tendency towards representing a serene and familiar atmosphere and that naiveness and simplicity which may be rightly considered as the main spirit which dominates the Franciscan literature. There can hardly be any doubt that the Franciscan movement marks one of the most brilliant moments in the history of our people and though inspired by a deep religious experience, it facilitates and prepares the way to renaissance. World was not so full of horrors as they used to believe in the Middle ages. The Creation which surrounds us is but another aspect of God himself. It is the manifestation as it were of his mercy and love for us. That serenity for which we search in vain in the art and literatare of

the Middle ages appears again in the Italian soul. The contrast between the old vision of life and religion and the new hopes that inflamed humanity was materialised, as it were, in the church of Assisi. The lower part, containing the body of the Saint, is built in accordance with the traditional plan of old romantic cathedrals. Dark with enormous pilasters and low, it seems to express the misery and despair of the old generation. But above is the gothic church erected by Filippo da Campello. With abundant light entering through the long windows, majestic, large with its high columns, it seems to symbolise the serenity, energy and confidence in the destiny of mankind which animated the communal period of our history. Hope and serenity are also the essential basis of the reform of Saint Francis. Born in one of the richest families of Assisi in a picturesque castle of Umbria in the year 1182, he was taken prisoner by the people of Perugia during the terrible defeat that his countrymen suffered at the hands of the rival town, and disgusted with the life that he had fully enjoyed in his early youth he renounced the world and started his great mission. Some have compared him with Buddha; I do not think this comparison to be right for many reasons, but chiefly because we do not find in him that gigantic mind which we admire in Gautama. He had no original system to propound. The value of his teaching is chiefly in the example given by him of a rare coherence between belief and practice of life, which was essentially based upon an unlimited love for all beings, the spirit of self-sacrifice, humility and poverty. If we wish to compare him with some great Indian, our mind turns naturally to Chaitanya. He also founded an order that was to exercise a great influence upon moral, intellectual and artistic life of Bengal. He also preached that man must be patient as the tree and humble as the grass. He also did not care for doctrinal questions, but only for the practice of life based upon a direct realisation of the divine. It was the same force of love which converted Madai as well as the four brigands whose story is told in the life of S. Francis. It was the same force of *maitri* extended to all beings

which, as the pious disciples narrate, made the tigers tame and mild when Chaitanya spent his night in the jungle and induced S. Francis to preach to the wolf of Agobbio. It was for the same feeling of sympathy that Chaitanya revealed the holy name to the dog Sivananda so excellently narrated in the Antyalīla of the C. C. and that S. Francis delivered his sermons to the birds in a famous miracle wonderfully interpreted by Giotto in the frescos of the church of Assisi.

It is a pity that we have no time to read together some of the most beautiful stories of the life of the Saint. They are all in prose, written by poor monks in a language that everybody was in a condition to understand, but at the same time so artistically expressive that inspite of their simplicity and naiveness they can be considered as some of the highest creations of our prose literature. I must quote here only the most famous of these narrations, the title of which is "Fioretti di San Francesco" a book that circulated in many redactions, and about the authorship of which there is not yet perfect agreement among scholars. But this question of authorship is, according to me, one of secondary importance when we are confronted with a work which does not embody the ideas of a particular individual, but rather reflects the beliefs and hopes, in a word, the spiritual and intellctual atmosphere of an epoch of our culture. But did S. Francis himself write anything ? If he did, he wrote very little. So also Chaitanya who is perhaps the author of the *śikṣāṣṭakam*. Neither of them was nor wanted to be a writer or a philosopher. Still the verses attributed to him sufficiently show that he deserves to be enlisted among the greatest poets of our literature. I refer to the Canticus creaturarum, or Song of the creatures, known also as the song to the sun. We do not exactly know in what metre it was originally composed, nor do we know if it is a translation into vernacular of a Latin original or not. It is in this poem that the infinite love of the Saint for all creatures is expressed in an unparalleld way. It stands as a wonderful exception to the Christian literature of the middle ages, when Nature was considered as an evil and animals as the

lowest aspects of creation. All beings—this was the teaching of Aristotelian and scholastic philosophy—may be divided according to the different souls they possess. Plants have a vegetable soul ; animals—one vegetable and one sensisitive; man one vegetable, one sensitive and the rational. So man only deserves the attention of man; all the rest is pure matter, and therefore may be conducive to perdition. But here, in the song of the creatures, the vision of the universe is quite different; it is so comprehensive and sympathetical that even the greatest of our pantheistic philosophers, I mean Giordano Bruno, could have accepted it as his own prayer. The material elements of classical philosophy appear in it in a Christian garb, united to men by the common fact that they are like man, the creation of God. When he wrote his song, Saint Francis was certainly not aware of the fact that he was echoing the hymns of the Stoics and the famous prayer to the sun of Giulianus the Apostate, the unfortunate emperor who, after Constantine the Great, had the courage to oppose Christianity by making a vain attempt at reviving Paganism. Anticipating as it were the Renaissance, the classical ideal seems to resuscitate in this song of the Poverello d'Assisi just as Roman corporative spirit had led this great mystic to the organisation of his community. But I think that nothing could give you a better idea of the song itself than a literal translation of it which I hope will make clear the points I have mentioned.

O most high, omnipotent good Lord, Thine are the praise, the glory, the honour and every benediction. They befit only Thee and no man is worth mentioning Thee. Praise to Thee O my Lord, with all creatures specially our brother the sun, who illuminates the day for us. And he is beautiful, and shining with great splendour, wears the marks of Thyself.

Praise to Thee my Lord for our sisters the moon and the stars. Thou formest them in the sky, luminous, precious and beautiful. Praise to Thee my Lord for our brother wind and for the air and for every weather, cloudy or serene, by which Thou givest nourishment to all creatures. Praise to Thee my Lord for our sister water who is very useful and humble and

precious and chaste; praise to Thee my Lord for our brother fire by which Thou givest us light in the night, and he is beautiful and jolly, robust and strong.

Praise to Thee my Lord for our mother earth who supports and governs us and produces various fruits with coloured flowers and herbs. Praise to Thee my Lord, for those who forgive for the sake of Thy love and forbear infirmity and torture.

Blessed will be those who forbear it in peace because they will be crowned by Thee.

Praise to Thee my Lord for our sister corporal death whom no living man can escape. Woe to those, who will die being in a mortal sin. Blessed will be those who followed Thy most holy will, because the second death will not harm them.

Praise my Lord and thank Him and serve Him in great humility. This is the Canticus creaturarum containing, as it were, the last prayer and the last will of the Saint who sang it to the brethren and sisters in his death-bed at the dawn of a beautiful and bright day of September in that Assisian landscape than which a sweeter and more fascinating one can hardly be found. A few days later he died. The solemn simplicity of the Canticus could not be imitated by any of his disciples or followers. Guittone d'Arezzo, the Tuscan poet whom we have mentioned before renounced worldly life and joined the order and wrote religious songs technically more perfect and elaborated but not so grand and impressive. Nor the rude poems of Jacopone da Todi, the monk who in his ardour of renewing the spirit was the first to attack with unusual violence the Pope and was thrown into prison, can be compared with the few lines of Francis. Jacopone da Todi was still a man of the Middle ages; under the dress of a monk he had the same undaunted and fierce character of a warrior. He was violent and fanatical in his religious experiences as his countrymen were in political passions. We do not see therefore in him that harmony and serenity in which the Poverello of Assisi found his greatest inspiration in life as well as in art.

G. Tucci

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Fresh complications, however, arose in the meantime. In 1835-36 the importation of foreign salt into the Calcutta market which was constantly on the increase had reached the high figure of 284,858 maunds or more than a fifteenth of the total Government sale in the previous year. In the face of this increased foreign competition, the Government was powerless to have recourse to its own habitual policy of artificial limitation of supply. The Government promptly discontinued the system and returned to its original policy of sales at fixed prices. The sale prices fixed by the Government were calculated on the basis of average auction prices of salt in different agencies during the last ten years, and they ranged from Rs. 469 to Rs. 385 per 100 maunds. Thus after fifty years the mechanism set up by Cornwallis split up of itself on the rock of foreign competition.

We shall now pause here to take stock of fresh developments that had in the meantime taken place in other parts of the Company's dominion.

Western or Upper Provinces.

The precautionary measures of 1810 to remedy the abuses and malpractices at the Customs Chowkeys in the Upper Provinces of the Bengal Presidency had come to no effect. In 1822 and again in 1826 changes were consequently made in the administration of the Customs Department. In the latter year a new Board of Customs was set up, untrammelled by any other responsibility and hence in a position to bestow its undivided attention on the matter.

The Government was for some time exploring the prospects of obtaining an increase of revenue from salt. A suggestion was put forward in the year 1827 by the Collector of Customs at Agra regarding the increase of duties on Western salt. But in view of the Parliamentary provision (53 George III, c. 155, s. 25) requiring the previous sanction of the Home authorities (the Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs) before promulgation of any new or additional duties upon the export, import or transit of goods in the Company's territories, the Government did not proceed in the matter.

It was observed that the growing slackness of the merchants to clear salt from the *golahs* had for many years deluded the Government into the belief that consumption, while subject to the existing rate of tax, had reached its utmost limit. It was therefore inferred that the salt revenue was not capable of increase by any extension of the supply furnished from the Calcutta sales.

How then was the increased revenue to be obtained? In 1829 the Salt Board suggested that the only way open to the Government to increase the revenue was to extend the same rate of tax as obtained in the Dewani tracts to other places of the Presidency beyond those furnished through the Calcutta sales.[1]

The Advocate-General, to whom the Government referred for opinion the question of its own competence to levy such duties, having decided the issue favourably, a regulation (Regulation XVI of 1829) was passed on the basis of the above two recommendations. Since the point at issue was not absolutely free from doubt, the approval of the Home authorities was however subsequently secured.[2]

[1] Letter from Board of Customs, Salt and Opium of the 9th July, 1829.

[2] Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, 23rd February, 1831; Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1831-32, Appendix No. 25.

The regulation equalised to a great extent and slightly increased the rates of duty on different descriptions of Western salt imported into or in transit through the Western Provinces. All salt was taxed at Re. 1 per maund except Lahore, Sambur, and Doodwane. These varieties were subjected to an additional duty of 8 as. per maund, which however was remitted in 1835. The regulation also provided, as was suggested by the Board, for the imposition of the further duty on those salts as they entered into the province of Benares but at the same time remitted the town duty leviable on Western salt imported for consumption into the city of Benares and towns of Mirzapur and Gazipur.

In 1834 Sir Charles Trevelyan drew up his famous report on the inland customs and town duties. The report produced a deep impression throughout the country and quickened the pace of that reform to which British India owed its gradual disentanglement from the mesh of most noisome transit duties that formerly covered its face. In that report was proposed a comprehensive and thoroughly systematised plan of a single customs line of chowkeys spreading along the whole frontier. But the desired reform, though a crying necessity in the Western Provinces, was put off till 1843 when the necessary legislation was enacted to give practical effect to his plan.

It is however interesting to note that eleven years before Trevelyan's report, Mr. Saunders, who was then Collector of Customs at Agra, had proposed a revision of the customs establishment of his district on substantially the same line. Four years after, in 1827, the same gentleman, impatient of the indifference of his superior authorities, had himself carried out his project in anticipation of sanction and made the beginnings of what was afterwards to be known as the Imperial Customs Line or the Grand Customs Line. But actually the line was so imperfectly drawn up and had always remained so insignificant that it was unknown and unnoticed when Trevelyan prepared his report.

Assam.

An extensive landmass, that was to be administered for about half a century as a part of the Bengal Presidency, was annexed in 1826. It will be a useless digression to repeat here the well-known story how the first Burmese War brought for the British large parts of Assam and how the rest of the province was only gradually acquired over a large number of years.

Absolutely without any means of supply in her own area, Assam naturally depended upon outside source to provide herself with what she needed of salt. Of her two channels of trade, one with the tribes on the northern and eastern frontiers and the other with the neighbouring province of Bengal, it hardly needs mention that it was only through the latter that she could hope to obtain any sufficient supply of salt. And during the years that preceded the annexation of the province, salt was almost the only article that was imported into it from the adjoining British territory.

Assam was thus laid under contribution by the Bengal Government long before its authority had extended to it. On the other hand her position was especially complicated by the existence, on her side, of a private monopoly of two persons who farmed the customs and commanded the entire trade of the valley.

When the British occupied the province they abolished the monopoly. Its effect must have been for the better. But in fact the volume of trade began to decline. This falling off in the import of salt at the very moment when it was freed from the shackles of monopoly would have been an enigma, if it were not for the fact that the individual Assamese merchants had yet to learn that business honesty without which a steady growth of trade was impossible.[1]

[1] Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VI, p. 75.

Madras.

In Madras the policy of high price initiated in 1809 had not yielded satisfactory results. During the three years (1806-7 to 1808-9) preceding the high price the average annual receipt was £245,880 whereas the average during the three subsequent years was £350,948. Thus the revenue showed an increase of 42% only, though the tax had gone up by 50%. And since 1813-14 it actually began to manifest a tendency towards steady decline.

The shrinkage of revenue was to some extent due to a certain laxity in control and supervision on the part of senior officers, who, in accordance with an injunction from the Court of Directors, had been deprived of the commission which they had so long obtained as a certain percentage of the salt revenue. The commission system was therefore reinstituted in 1817 and the revenue improved slightly.

The existence of a free source of supply in the bordering French settlements was naturally a cause of great anxiety to the Madras Government from the day it had adopted monopoly within its own area. And it began now to be strongly suspected that there was a considerable increase in the contraband trade from the French possessions as the direct consequence of the higher price adopted. To strike at the very root of the difficulty, the British Government entered into a compact with the French Government in 1815. The former, in return for an agreement to pay an annual sum of Sicca Rs. 4,00,000, acquired from the latter the sole right of buying up at prices prevailing in adjacent districts all their salt beyond what was required for domestic consumption. It was further stipulated that salt should in future be sold by the French Government in their own possessions at prices equivalent to the Company's monopoly rate. Places, even under foreign domination, were thus dragged into

the mire of monopoly at an enormous cost to the Indian exchequer.

Every possible step was thus taken to ensure proper supervision and control and to prevent smuggling. But the average revenue was not yet commensurate with the rise in the price so that *primâ facie* there was a strong ground to suspect that the price had an adverse effect on consumption. The Board of Revenue, however, attributed the fall to corruption and mismanagement. Accordingly, after proper investigation, a code of rules was framed in 1817-18 for the better management of the salt revenue.

At the same time a further step was taken to guard against the possibility that might yet be left of smuggling French salt into the British zone. By the convention of 1818 the manufacture of salt in the French possessions was altogether suppressed. Their needs were to be supplied by the Company at the cost price of the article.

The revenue went up but still lagged behind its proper limit. The Board of Revenue yet persisted in its argument. It contended that much more than what entered into official record did actually pass into consumption through over-measurement and illicit manufacture. It therefore urged that what was really needed in order that the irregularities might be effectively combated was an improvement in management rather than any reduction of price.

The Government rightly maintained that the illicit manufacture was itself symptomatic of the oppressive character of the tax and any further rigidity in the management of the revenue, while the price continued to be high, was merely adding to the sufferings of the people. Its own suggestion was to substitute for one uniform price a series of prices, varying from district to district and adjusted in a manner as to equalise consumption prices over the country. But the view did not find favour, either with the Board of Revenue or with the Court of Directors. So in 1820 the price was lowered by a Government order

to its original level, Rs 70 per garce. It was immediately followed by largely increased sales and the total sale in each year after 1821 exceeded that of 1819-20.

The Board of Revenue was, however, untired in its advocacy of a high price. In 1822 it again wrote to the Government to raise the price to Rs. 105 per garce. In addition to its previous argument, it put forward the further plea that the lower price had not succeeded in bringing forth the desired relief ; for, the retail prices, in the interior, had not appreciably responded to the reduced price. The Government remained, as before, sceptical of its line of reasonings. Once again in 1824-25 it made another unsuccessful attempt to bring round the Government to its own view.

In 1828 the Board, which had in the meantime furnished itself with a mass of statistical data, represented that it was wrong to have deduced the conclusion of decreased home consumption from the mere fact of diminished sales. The domestic consumption, it pointed out with the aid of its collected statistics, had rather, on an average, increased by 21% during the last three years of the high price in comparison with what it was during the three years of low price from 1806 to 1809. It was the fluctuation of the export that had, in its opinion, acted all the while as a drag on the revenue.

It also brought out with reference to its own statistics that the retail prices in most inland districts had on the average fallen only by 21% while the reduction effected by the Government was more than 33% . In two districts in particular the price had increased rather than decreased. The Board concluded with the remark that they had no reason to apprehend "that a return to the former monopoly price would be attended with hardship to the people or lead to a diminution of the present average demand."

The Government now acquiesced in the opinion of the Board for it was not "merely speculative" but was "drawn

from accurate returns and supported by ascertained facts." Once more the price rose from Rs. 70 to Rs. 105 per garce and once again the consequences of previous years were to repeat themselves.

(To be continued)

PARIMAL RAY

DECEIT IN RESIGNATION.

I.

O, when I say I am resigned
To Thy sweet loving rule,
Do I defy Thy mighty might
And think Thee my will's tool?
O, do I think when I declare—
To Thee I am resigned
Fulfil Thou shalt with pow'r Divine
Desire that pains my mind?
Resignation's but a name
From me to hide my selfish aim.
O resignation then is pure
Of selfish will when 'tis the cure.

II.

Resignation—all devotion
Are Thy gifts, O Love's Lord,
But pride destroys their beauty pure
And scabbard rusts the sword.
May I in Thee, Love, see my all
A drop of joy in Thee to fall!

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

KING LEAR

I

King Lear may not be the greatest of Shakespeare's tragedies but it is certainly the most sorrowful. One need not be miserable to write a tragedy. A happy man wrote *Romeo and Juliet*. The writer of *King Lear* and *Macbeth* and *Measure for Measure* seems oppressed by the mishaps of life.

Measure for Measure has an outraged misery. Sorrow and ugliness have set Shakespeare's intellect in revolt but not yet touched his emotions, or rather they have upset his conception of life but not entered into it ; he does not accept, he still expects them. Its wrong doings and griefs pertain to other people and are treated more in scorn than with understanding. In *Macbeth* and *Lear* Shakespeare comes down to the level of sinners and feels their troubles sympathetically ; he accepts the tragic world as his, no longer disdaining it. The unfairnesses of life do not outrage him now; he acknowledges our human heritage of imperfection and suffering as his own ; we never scorn Macbeth, even Goneril, as we scorn the hero of *Measure for Measure*.

Macbeth labours under an oppression like a strong man heavily laden and bearing up. In *Lear* we feel a limp depression, that vague dull unhappiness one associates with dismal weather. The one play storms ; Macbeth fights, he stands up to his fate. The other lours ; Lear is choked by a feather. Whereas most tragedies show the shipwreck of passion, or strength, Lear meets disaster through weakness. Macbeth is too huge for the world and upsets it. The world is too huge for Lear and crushes him. His tale is the story of a nervous breakdown, of failing health. The older we grow the less excitable should we be ; as the body weakens with years and becomes less able to bear the strain of passion, the feelings get correspondingly feebler; the natural characteristic of old age is quiet. Lear's nerves have begun to slip before the play opens ; he is too violent for

an old man ; his impotent, senile furies invite rather than repel his tragedy.

Though the motive of the play lies in Lear's over-excitability, the spot where it hurts us is almost universally sensitive. It touches the most natural of human sorrows; the sorrow of a parent. Lear cries against his children. It is: "Oh my unnatural daughters! Their ingratitude! Their disobedience!"—their disobedience coming first when Cordelia will not buy her portion of the kingdom by declaring her love. *Lear* magnifies the pang every parent experiences when his children, their judgment having developed, no longer feel bound to obey—a necessary sorrow, or at least one the child ought to cause. Everyone who is not a parasite on the advice of others must make this stand sometime, and when they are idealists must make it even against the ideals of their parents. We miss the point if we think Cordelia obstinate. She did it 'for conscience' sake ; she has outgrown the dominion of her father's judgment and arrived where obedience must yield. Shakespeare was interested in the situation from Lear's point of view. Being a father himself he may have felt the slight twinge when this link of parenthood breaks. In normal families it is a slight twinge ; at least I presume so. The simple germ of the tragedy is not usually tragic, being obscured by the other interests of life, disguised by love and palliated by concessions. Still, even in normal families the bond is not broken without some pain, the pain being greatest where the difference is in opinion on morals. The parent may think his son a fool if he takes his own way, even a disobedint fool and no very serious harm comes of it. When the parent thinks the child is going to the dogs matters become more serious. Although Lear's estrangement from Cordelia appears to have an almost frivolous cause, in reality it rests on difference in opinion on morals. He cannot appreciate the pure virtue of her sincerity. He is sentimental, and thinks because she has no sentiment about him—she does not love him. As usually happens when an old fool meets young virtue much

finer than his own, Lear attributes the reserve of her honesty to some failing he can understand easily enough.

"Let pride, which she calls plainness, marry her." The play gets its power from this basis on an everyday emotion. The family aspect of *Lear* stabs us. Goneril and Regan are our daughters, or Lear our father, and this it is that takes hold of us so, this intimate pain. *Macbeth* does not move every one to terror because some are too good. Many feel only a sort of disgust at *Othello*. But none of us is too humble or too good to tremble at the Goneril in us, or the Goneril in our children. *Lear* hurts where our sensibility is tenderest. Shakespeare, as it were, takes the bleeding from the vein of a wood sorrel so delicate may be the emotion he starts from, and creates out of it a tragedy to overwhelm us. He starts off with a sorrowful situation common in real life, and shows not Cordelia's side, but Lear's only. From it he takes away all the palliative, leaving the pain of cleavage unmitigated and unalleviated. Then in place of filial love, he puts agressive ingratitude and cruelty in Lear's other daughters. ("If the situation had arisen in real life, they, the elder sisters, would probably have realised that old age, being unreasonable, is to be humoured.") And to aggravate the pain still farther, he makes the parent sensitive to the point of morbidity, and a man without balance.

The external source of *Lear* was an old play of that name, interesting in that it gave Shakespeare so little. Practically every thing in *Lear* is Shakespeare's own. A hint or two in the old play attracted him, but rather by what it left undone, as a thing with possibilities, than as an achievement. Shakespeare's dramatic genius has two sides, the human and the imaginative. By the time he came to write his great tragedies he was as interested in the subjective situation of his characters as in our objective impression of the play. These interests usually coalesce ; the Macbeth situation and the witch gloomy of the deserted heath seem to come from the same inspiration, the one being the dark reflex of the other. And in the same way the human situation

and the storms are reciprocally expressive in Lear. Shakespeare found the seeds of both in the old play. One clap of thunder and a few sea-side scenes at the end stirred his pictorial imagination ; the parent's sorrow awoke his emotional imagination. Here he found a play poetically stimulating, humanly interesting and capable of unburdening the creative energy buried in that mood of despair we feel so heavily.

It needed a Shakespeare to find a hint of the great Lear in the original play. The old play was not a tragedy ; it ended with Lear and Cordelia reinstated. All the atmospheric gloom, the world ague conception of our *Lear* is Shakespeare's, if we expect the one clap of thunder. The original play has no 'minor plot;' outside the Lear family it has only one character, the equivalent of Kent. Nor does the original Lear lose his reason ; he remains a perfectly sane, unexcitable, calm, deliberating old man. The most noticeable difference between the plays lies in their Cordelias, the *intention* of Cordelia's character being more lovely in the original than in Shakespeare. All this shows Shakespeare's aim. That he did not find a mad Lear, makes Lear's madness more significant. To create a tragedy of the parental sorrow, he had to increase the sensitiveness of the parent, to make Lear mad, and to decrease the humanity of the child, not to dwell too much on the loveliness of Cordelia. There was a very great danger that our sympathy with Cordelia should put us out of sympathy with Lear, that we should look at the situation from the natural and not the unnatural point of view ; for we must not forget that although Shakespeare's bias was towards the father, the real appeal of the legend lies in its Cordelia. How strong that appeal can be, we see by the number of people who wish Shakespeare's play had ended happily. The situation looked at from the child's point of view should end happily. Had the play centred in Cordelia we should have had no tragedy. But Cordelia's tale could not absorb Shakespeare's despondent mood, so he shifted the centre of interest to the father and deliberately lessened her appeal. In the opening

scenes we notice rather the fact of her refusal than the loveliness of the impulse prompting it. Whenever we meet Cordelia, or hear of her, we have a pleasant sensation, yet Shakespeare takes care that we shall not gush to her. She is reserved and controlled, smiling through her tears and looking grave when she smiles. We do not become intimate with her as we do with Desdemona. She does not open for our sympathy but stands aloof, a calm and lovely picture, never reaching us the warmth of her hand. We give her our tears only when she dies and all danger of our feelings running in a cross current against Lear is over. Then the rush of emotion to her, takes him with it.

We cannot know whether Shakespeare, lacking our critical education, realized all the difficulties in his way. What he does is clear enough. He writes a tragic drama disobeying most of the rules of tragic drama insisted upon by critics from Aristotle onwards, yet we hardly remark it. The play has no action. Lear's sorrow is not dramatic, but passive ; he does not act, he merely reacts ; he is struck and quivers but cannot strike back. Events succeed one another, there is a plot, but no action in the sense that *Macbeth* or *Othello* have action, all the movement in *Lear* being external to the real matter of the play, a mere stage substitute. Macbeth's or Othello's tragedy develop out of themselves ; the dramatic action is inside the soul of the hero. *Macbeth* shows the progress of selfish ambition from its first stirrings to its final ruin. *Othello* is a similar picture of jealousy. *Lear* is just a tragedy of sorrow. Neither Lear nor Gloucester are "tragic characters" in the accepted meaning, though both suffer in the dimensions of tragedy. They are the most inoffensive and ordinary of people, yet Gloucester has his eyes put out by the treachery of his son, and Lear his reason by the cruelty of his daughters. What irony to say they bring their fate on themselves !

Shakespeare creates tragedy out of passive sorrow, merely by making it huge. The world of *Lear* appears like the whole universe. We come away denying that calamities are our

fault, that we are responsible for our miseries. This is a world of pain and the gods care not. Sorrow is a monster too huge to slay; he invades and carries off our security. Not the victory of St. George, nor the triumph of armies in the cause of right, nor just legislation, nor virtuous living, nor prophets, nor preaching can slay this monster. It is of the constitution of the world. Some such feeling makes us talk of a sense of fate in *Lear*, though it ought not to. Shakespeare did not conceive of the gods as dogging man to ruin. If there had been no Greek tragedy, we should never have used the word "Fate" in connection with Shakespeare; it represents an essentially pre-Christian idea, lowering to our dignity and self-respect as men. Shekespeare may make his characters cry in their misery: "The gods do not care," or in a sort of contemptuous anger: "They do it for their sport," but these are momentary bursts of feeling not settled convictions. *Lear* is a pandemic of sorrow, and the helplessness of the sufferers who catch the plague gives a Fate interpretation its opportunity, yet the dramatist did not necessarily intend it. Shakespeare's attitude to catastrophe resembles rather the common one of bearing them as best we may. He cries out against the gods and leaves us with a feeling of inexplicable sorrow, but does not write with a sense of Fate, of implacable Nemesis, or inevitable necessity. This is the deduction of listeners learned in aesthetic theories of Greek drama, not Shakespeare's suggestion. And, as a matter of prosaic fact the plot is loosely enough woven to allow of almost any ending; there is nothing inevitable or necessary in it.

In place of real action Shakespeare uses a sort of pageantry. He makes his effect pictorially. *King Lear* is a spectacle. Our attitude to the play differs from that to the other tragedies. We do not feel the same sympathetic transfusion of ourselves into the protagonists. Women may lose their identity so completely in Desdemona as to feel uncomfortable after she dies. We expect death to render us unconscious or at least blind, so the end of *Othello* gives us the peculiar sensation Christina Rossetti

creates in her sonnet on *After Death*. In *Lear* our interest moves almost kaleidoscopically, variously and diversely as in a comedy. We look on in sympathy rather than merge ourselves in the feelings of the characters. We never take Lear out of his place and magnify him as we do Macbeth, who absorbs nearly the whole play into himself. We see Lear in the usual proportions of man Our interest distributes itself ; our sympathies are panoramic rather than personal; we lose ourselves in the pain of the *Lear* world rather than in the Lear individuality. . The sharpest crisis of the play comes when Gloucester's eyes are put out, not in Lear's person ; this could not happen in any of the other tragedies without upsetting the balance. Normally, or at least in theory, the interest of a tragedy gravitates to the centre and draws in the circumference. In this tragedy the force radiates, the circumference being almost alive at the centre. We feel its power in its width rather than in its concentration—a huge lateral expanse. While Macbeth, and Desdemona or Othello, dominate their plays in single might, *Lear* has affinities with *As you like it* where people come chattering into the forest. Yet the crying of *Lear* is so shrill that it almost passes the range of audibility and becomes a silent agony, a landscape of torture. Shakespeare makes the effect after the manner of the cricket rather than of the lark ; he creates a murmuring sort of gloom not an intense song of pain ; we succumb to its persistence rather than to its overwhelming passion. *Lear* is like a gallery of pictures. Shakespeare turns us out on a moor in storm and cold, and at each step brings another wounded soul, and another, and another, making a procession of woe, multiplying the effect through the eye. Then the sky clears and the clouds break where the sun smiles on fields and meadows near Dover ; and we finish in a dark prison where a flower-like light glimmers for a moment before it goes out with the lives of a young girl and an old man. We think of the play in terms of painting or vision rather than of action or movement.

It makes an interesting study to see how Shakespeare arranged the plot and sketched the characters of *Lear* for spectacular rather than dramatic effect, or to put it another way, how he makes a tragedy out of what is not usually allowed as dramatic material. He takes the old tale, alters the character of Lear and hardens or veils that of Cordelia to fit his new conception of the tale. Then he broadens the old play, floods its waters over the land to awe us with a Dutch expanse: he introduces a parallel plot. In Sidney's *Arcadia* he found another tale of the wronged parent and the unnatural child, the tale of Gloucester, and this he adds to the Lear story. It helps too, over another difficulty, the lack of action; the developing of this story gives a sense of movement to the play, and, since it runs parallel to the principal theme not across it, a sense of direction also. Moreover in a good drama the tension should be flexible, give a sense of mobility, not stiff and wooden like the *Cenci*. The Lear tragedy alone would seem to stand on one leg. The Gloucester theme supplies a second and saves the play from the storkpoise. *Lear* by its very nature forbade a violent cutting of the tension such as we have in the porter scene in *Macbeth*. *Macbeth* can afford the porter's scene because the drop is so huge. Here such a scene would only show how low is the altitude of *Lear*, a play of the plains and fens. The violent change of tension in *Lear* comes where Gloucester's eyes are put out, and the recoil goes up not down. Before this scene the emotional level was very low or depressed. After it the emotional level is higher. Gloucester's scene contrasts in detail with the porter scene. Apart from this, Shakespeare relies on transferring the weight from one plot to the other to keep the play flexible; each time we move from the unhappiness of one tale to the parallel unhappiness of the other, we experience a sense of lifting, a momentary raising of the depression, yet, since the tales are parallel, the level unity of impression remains.

(*To be continued.*)

KATHARINE M. WILSON

THE FUTURE OUTLOOK OF THE INDIAN JOINT STOCK BANKS

I

The future can be built on the present which is but the result of the past. Considering the present position of the Indian Joint Stock Banks any serious study would disclose that the following are their predominant features. Lower dividends than in the immediate past or fairly even rates of dividends as in the past, decreasing working capital when understood in correlation with the increased price-level, lack of confidence on the part of the public, sheer inability to secure any prompt financial aid and over-investment in the gilt-edged securities due to lack of a fluid market for short-term investments are some of the salient features of the present-day Indian Joint Stock Banks. The pathological point of view has strong fascination for me. As in Mathew Arnold's famous lines, I wish I were able to diagnose the evils of the banking system.

> He took the suffering human race,
> He read each wound, each weakness clear
> And struck his finger on the place
> And said, "Thou ailest here and there."

But the inadequacy of statistical material precludes anyone from playing the part of a banking pathologist. Its being scattered or diffused in more places than one irritates any worker in the field. The Statistical Tables relating to the Banks, the Report of the Registrar of the Joint-Stock Companies, the Report of the working of the Co-operative movement, the Trade Journal and the weekly information issued by the Controller of Currency would have to be ransacked for what little that can be gained by these enigmatic reports. The Imperial Bank always follows the policy of, " never explain, never regret, and never

apologise" and no Annual Report portraying the financial state of the country is issued. There is no Banker's Journal displaying the combined figures of their working. In the absence of such information one has to literally grope in the dark to feel his way in the matter of our banking operations and their significance on the different aspects of our economic life. The method of analysis cannot therefore be applied for details of Bank organisation, methods and practices are shrouded in mystery.

In spite of the nominally increasing growth of the working capital of the Indian Joint Stock Banks as denoted by the Statistical Tables [1] relating to Banks in India their present position is really deplorable. Compared with the contemporary foreign banking institutions their record is indeed a depressing one. As adequate banking statistics which cover the entire field are conspicuous by their absence I refrain from making any appeal to any statistical device to show how our system is progressing when compared with others. The stationary and sometimes

[1] The following tables illustrate my remark——

Table I

(In Crores of Rupees)

Year	1913	1918	1923	1924	1925	1926
Capital and Reserve	4	7	11	12	12	12
Deposits	24	42	48	55	58	63
Total	28	49	59	67	70	75

(See the Statistical Tables relating to Banks in India.)

If these figures are correlated with the present price-level we do not find an increase in the capital. Unless this is done we would become the victims of "money illusion" as Prof. Fisher would put it.

Year	1913	1918	1923	1924	1925
General Index of price level	100	157	157	158	159
Working Capital (in crores of Rs.)	24	49	59	67	70
Working Capital correlated to pre-war level of prices	24	31	38	42	38

The above tables do not take into account the smaller banks and loan companies which are conducting banking business to a large extent. The resources of the indigenous bankers are also excluded.

declining dividends speak eloquently of the struggles of the Indian Joint Stock Banks. Their low cash reserve as against their demand obligations fails to inspire the necessary confidence in the minds of the depositors.[1] Unorganised, unaided and subject to the malicious propaganda or barbed darts and vile credit-wrecking tactics of their enemies, the Indian Joint Stock Banks are "muddling through somehow." If timely action is not taken the unfailing and inexorable law of the survival of the fittest would soon eliminate quite a large number of these tottering institutions.

With no banking legislation, no official supervision, no fluid market for short-time investments which consequently leads to an over-investment in gilt-edged securities, no co-ordinated policy of the different joint stock banks, no centralised banking in the way of the rate of interest and no check against the frequent happening of swindles by directors or officers of banks the Indian Joint Stock Banks have been unable to show remarkable progress. Though some of the Indian Joint Stock Banks are not incapable of holding large monetary resources yet the logical consequences of the above circumstances are bank failures now and then. Now that re-organisation and radical reform of banking are under contemplation the broad lines of reform may be indicated briefly. A unified banking system with an independent Central Bank of Issue acting as a regulatory authority in a carefully developed discount market and creating elastic currency to satisfy the needs of business must be the sole objective of our banking reform. A complete rationalisation of our banking system is needed at the present hour. It alone would tend to promote specialisation in credit business and without an efficient use of credit, agriculture, commerce and industry cannot be established with any degree of success. It is to the banker, the chemist, the physicist, and the engineer that India has to look to

[1] Since the sale of Government securities in the market in 1917 there has been a drop in their value.

recreate her economic conditions and lead to a fuller utilisation of her small dormant hoards of precious metals and a better working out of the industrial opportunities thereby increasing the total wealth of the country and the prosperity of the people.

Now that a Banking Committee is examining the credit organisation of our country the position that these Indian Joint Stock Banks would have to occupy in a well-built and thoroughly organised system has to be studied with care, insight and sympathy. It would not be far wrong to say that the Indian Joint Stock Banks lacking the fostering guidance of a true Central Bank of Issue have been functioning in a credit organisation whose growth has been aptly compared to that of a wild jungle. The lack of positive information and detailed statistical knowledge precludes one from making any judgment as regards the safety and solidity of our Joint Stock Banks. Although it is an accepted fact that the dividends of some of the established banks are somewhat fairly higher than returns from trading or other joint stock companies, still the fact that more capital is not being invested in the expansion of the existing banks or the establishment of new big joint stock banks speaks for itself.

II

Having understood the real position an attempt is made in this part to find out the real causes leading to this unfortunate position. Some of the causes stated by the managers of the Joint Stock Banks are analysed and a critical scrutiny and analysis of their statement leads to certain important conclusions as regards the planning of their immediate future.

Over-investment.

Like the Imperial Bank the majority of the Indian Joint Stock Banks hold large blocks of Government securities. Even these cannot be turned into ready cash. There are no open market operations on the part of the Imperial Bank to steady

their price or defeat the bearish factors and tactics of the operators on the stock market. Without reasonably stable or steady value attached to the Government securities, the banks are finding it difficult to maintain steady dividends. Secondly as the deposit rate they pay is high the interest secured from their investments does not generally give a broad margin over the deposit rate which they agree to pay. Broadly speaking, banking profits depend on the difference at which they lend over the rate which they pay for their borrowings from the public. Thirdly, the Indian Joint Stock Banks are therefore forgetting their social mission which is to aid commerce and industry.

It is indeed true that the holding of Government securities or trustee securities ought, generally speaking, to be considered as a healthy sign indicating the true financial strength of the Joint Stock Banks. But unfortunately owing to the above set of circumstances described already the investment policy has been causing them grave anxiety. Again no commercial bank ought to congratulate itself on its possessing a higher amount of investments over and above their actual paid-up capital. It is bound to create grave trouble whenever it wishes to expand its business or open branches in the interior. Although full regard to liquidity has to be paid still this over-investment even in gilt-edged securities has to be given up. The English Banks persistently sold their surplus percentage of war-time investments immediately after the war. From £398·6 millions in 1919 they came down to a low level of £290·5 mil. in 1927. The sum realised was utilised as advances to commercial borrowers.[1] Such a policy of pronounced reduction in the matter of their investment would undoubtedly improve the situation. Even the Presidency Bank of Bombay suffered in a like manner on account of its excessive holding of the E.I. Company's paper. Firstly it proposed to open a branch in Calcutta in 1841. As this was not allowed, it suggested the undertaking of foreign exchange business so as to

[1] See J. Sykes, The Present Position of the English Joint-Stock Bank, p. 68.

find work for its huge capital. Considering the possibility of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors refusing this measure it placed the alternative of reducing its capital exactly to one-half and that the note-issue should similarly be cut down to one crore of rupees alone. The Court of Directors refused to permit any of the measures and until there was the cotton boom in 1860 there was not properly speaking any legitimate trade demand absorbing its huge paid-up capital which had to be locked up in the Company's paper alone which paid four to five per cent. rate of interest.[1]

Competition.

Taking leave of the discussion of excessive investment we must turn to the second reason which is repeated by the managers of the Indian Joint Stock Banks. Since the late Mr. A. Bowie raised the cry of "uneconomic competition" on the part of the Imperial Bank it has become fashionable in season and out of season to repeat the bogey of competition. If it were not the Imperial Bank of India, the Government of India and the existing Provincial Co-operative Banks and the District Central Co-operative Banks and the Exchange Banks are looked upon as rivals tending to spirit away deposits which would naturally have flowed into their hands in the absence of any of these competing rivals.[2]

Much reliance cannot be placed on the supposed cut-throat or uneconomic competition on the part of the Imperial Bank of India. It is the acknowledged policy of the Imperial Bank to consolidate its present position at the existing two hundred

[1] See Resolution No. 19, Financial Letter from the Court of Directors to the Bombay Government, dated 26th July, 1843.

[2] See the Report of the Directors of the Bank of Bombay submitted at a Special meeting of the Proprietors held on Thursday, the 2nd day of September, 1852, 11 o'clock in the forenoon. These requests were not sanctioned by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. See their Financial Letter to the Government of Bombay, Letter No. I, of 1853, dated 19th January, 1853. Paras. three and four of this letter explain the reasons for their refusing to sanction this request.

branches and not to open more branches in the meanwhile. Competition with the indigenous joint stock banks is always deprecated so long as the latter are charging moderate rates of interest. It is the declared policy of the Imperial Bank to open a branch only where scope exists for two Banks. Even though a branch of Joint Stock Bank might exist, the Imperial Bank would open a branch so as to extend banking facilities to the people of the locality. So long as the dangers underlying branch banking are understood and every effort is made to eliminate them, this system of extending branches by the Imperial Bank has to be hailed as a welcome measure. None the less there is a grain of truth lying hidden in these blasphemous remarks of the Joint Stock Banks. Unable to secure interest-free Government deposits they have raised the cry of State-subsidised competition. The State however has to select a strong bank as its depositary for the Independent Treasury System has grave evils of its own. The system of nursing weak banks by declaring them as Government depositary banks is no less an evil than the one of maintaining an Independent Treasury System of its own.

Although there might be some amount of truth in the above contention, still the grievance that the Co-operative Banks are effective competitors as they tend to attract deposits by offering high interest rates is entirely a mistaken notion. As in modern Germany or France we do not find even our urban or the Provincial Co-operative Apex Banks conducting banking business on similar lines which the commercial banks adopt.[1] In Germany the co-operative banks grant advances on the well-known basis of the cash credit system and discount bills. Even in modern France the situation is the same. The Co-operative

[1] Even though the Imperial Bank's branch has been closed at Serajgunj and the local Central Co-operative bank has been attempting to fill the void the question of opening current accounts, collecting cheques and bills is not taken up and sanction has to be obtained for this from the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies for this purposes. See Free Press Message, the Liberty of 12th September, 1929.

Banks created by the State initiative and financed to the extent of 50 mil. francs are acting as the ordinary joint stock banks for the locality. Such competition hardly exists in any of the money centres of this country. It is true that the co-operative banks offer a high deposit rate. As I have stated elsewhere they are "complementary" institutions.[1] Their sole aim is to play the humble rôle of "collecting banks." They are "feeders" to the Joint Stock Banks for it is their mission to endow small people with moderate capital and train them to banking habits and prepare them for business with more capitalist institutions to which they are likely to go as they become wealthy. Such being the case there is no reason to take umbrage on account of their successful working. In the near future when trade financing is done by means of bills the trade paper endorsed by the co-operative banks would furnish ample opportunity for the safe investment of their funds. Greater co-operation would thereby ensue between the Indian Joint Stock Banks and the other kinds of banking institutions or bankers. Combined and not competitive banking must be the ideal that ought to govern their operations in the future.

P. O. Cash Certificates.

The Government of India which has already incurred their displeasure for depositing its funds in the Imperial Bank alone, has once again become a target of criticism. By virtue of increased interest rates which it has agreed to pay to the holders of the P. O. Cash Certificates from the 1st of August, 1929, it is feared that it would tend to divert the flow of deposits from the usual channels to the hands of the Government of India. That the Government would absorb the available savings is the specific grievance which has been set up by them. Even the Exchange Banks consider this effective competition on

[1] See my Present-Day Banking in India, Chapter on Co-operative Banks.

the part of the Government as one of the reasons for the slow growth of their deposits. The floating of Treasury Bills and the currency contraction in the slack season, though ostensibly pursued with the object of propping up exchange is disliked by the Indian Joint Stock Banks. The Treasury Bills are being floated at " rates of interest which no bank even of modest means could think of giving its depositors."[1] This has been acting as a double-edged weapon. Firstly, it has tended to restrict the volume of their deposits. Secondly, it has tended to demoralise the tone of the stock market and the Government securities have naturally suffered depreciation as a result of unexpected shifts in the matter of Treasury Bill sale policy.

Exchange Banks.

Repeated failures of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks have turned the people more to the Exchange Banks who have already become unpopular for their exclusive monopoly of financing of foreign trade. Their deposits are increasing though they pay no high rate of interest. Being the victims of unorganised banking the Indian people naturally prefer to place trust in the foreign Exchange Banks whose directors at least are to a certain extent free from the taint of swindling bank resources and utilising them for selfish advantages of their own. The Exchange Banks have built up a tradition of trustworthy service and they usually have at their service a continuous succession of honourable and loyal men. They are gathering vitality as they go becoming not weaker with age but stronger and more trustworthy in marked contrast with the few traitors of our Indian Bank management who have undermined the prestige of the other con-

[1] If we study the English Banking system the average rate at which Treasury Bills were floated was £ 4-10s-3d hardly higher than the rate at which the commercialists were able to secure the discounting of the bills by the Banks which was £4-9s-6d. This shows that the British Government in spite of its increased indebtedness did not pay very high rates for its short term indebtedness. See Sykes, *Ibid*, p. 91.

temporary Indian Joint Stock Banks and have contributed a goo deal towards their stagnation and decay. The main excellence of the Exchange Banks namely, skill, trusteeship and scientifi method must be copied by the Indian Joint Stock Banks. Th general faithfulness of the Indian Joint Stock Banks is nc questioned by anybody but they must copy the best features o the Exchange Banks. It is banking education that can creat these features. It is not the men in high places of power bu also those who are stationed in every rank and level of bankin service who must realise their responsibility and be willing to d their best.

(To be Continued.)

B. R. RAU

THE ART OF MAETERLINCK

Maeterlinck shines at his brightest when the situation dealt with is favourable for a descent into the depth of man's spiritual consciousness. The spiritual in life so habitually haunts his imagination, that he nowhere appears to be much interested in man on the material and visible side of his existence. "Nothing," says Maeterlinck, "Nothing tends more to hamper the progress of thought and therefore, lower the dignity of literature than a self-complacent satisfaction with things that are known, and the habit of believing that the things known always transcend in importance the things we know not yet." The study of mystery in all its forms ought therefore to be the noblest task to which the mind of the artist can devote itself. This obsession with the realm of what Maeterlinck calls "higher unconsciousness" has given a decided bent to his art, has coloured both the substance and form of his art with a peculiar Maeterlinckian tinge, while, on the one hand, it had robbed even his masterpieces of certain elements of humanity, it has, on the other hand, ended in the creation of an atmosphere full of the haunting sense of mystery, wonder and admiration. The first impression that Maeterlinck's dramas invariably make takes the form of a question as to whether, besides the characters of his dramas catalogued at the beginning of the play, there does not hover around us an invisible figure who seems to embody Maeterlinck's conception of an ever-vigilant ever-working power in the background of human destiny. To discover the links of connection between human will and the invisible mysterious power whose countenance we do not perceive, but whose presence we none the less feel, is what Maeterlinck considers to be the paramount duty of "an interpreter of life." Art, at its worst, is with Maeterlinck an instrument of mental discipline; at its best, the most perfect and spiritual medium through which what is best and profoundest in man's experience has been kept alive by the efforts of genius. A true artist thus primarily belongs to the fraternity of benefactors who

are engaged, in their respective manner, in the noble task of diminishing the error and ignorance of mankind and letting "the will of God prevail on this earth." What are the conditions of the world we live in, what should therefore be our conduct in order that we may be wiser and happier—these are questions which supply ultimate motive power in the application of men's genius to all departments of activities. The ideal artist must therefore have an intimate knowledge of the highest truths of philosophy both ancient and modern. He must moreover, lift the veil over the face of the mysterious forces that are constantly beating upon life's limitless shores from the region of the inexplicables. Every great poetry, therefore, according to Maeterlinck, presupposes a deep knowledge of philosophy, a reasoned conception and a rational solution of the eternal problems of life. The ever-increasing spoils of intellect, at every step of its conquest over the vast and boundless ocean of reality, are to be laid under contribution to build up the edifice of a poetic composition.

True poetry can crystallise only around a rationally conceived and a consistently thought out philosophy. For the effort of the creative artist, as for the regulation of men's conduct, it is not essential that this philosophy should be free from error and should contain the last word that can be uttered on the world-mystery which is its proper subject matter. It suffices that the atmosphere which this philosophy diffuses around, the truths which it preaches, must be capable of creating conviction, and inspiring respect and confidence in those who profess and live under it. The need of these intellectual preliminaries was at no time more imperatively felt than it is felt by a dramatic poet of the modern age. The modern is saturated in the spirit of scientific enquiry, and the spirit of philosophical open-mindedness. In its uncompromising passion for truth, in its indefatigable quest after the unerring light, it has dethroned many old and long-worshipped deities, dismembered the statues of many theories once held true beyond every possibility of doubt, now

exploded past every hope of rehabilitation. Though the present age has not yet succeeded in establishing upon the pedestal a Divinity of a superior might and power, it has at least caused the allegiance of men to be withdrawn from a God, spirit of Nature, Destiny—symbols which men once created out of their own fear of Justice and love of mystery, and which they so long venerated as the supreme, inexorable, immutable, all-powerful principle of the universe. Science and philosophy have now entered into the very struggle of man's every day existence. They have altered the centre of life's storm and let loose upon the field forces whose faces we have not yet thoroughly recognised. Men's hopes, men's aspirations, men's consolations no longer look up to an empty Heaven with folded hands and bended knees. On the recollection of acts of injustice done by them, they no longer tremble and falter before the non-moral forces of Nature, no longer reflect in terror over the agonising pains of Hell, as the inevitable portion of their life of misdeeds. They have turned their gaze away from God, Nature, Destiny, and at a tremendous sacrifice of time and energy, begun to look into the depth of their own soul where the tragedy or peaceful drama of their life is to be enacted. They have discovered new inspiration of Duty, new springs of action, a new meaning of reward and punishment independent of a Deity, or Nature's forces. For every injury suffered, every stroke of misfortune sustained, for every piece of calamity experienced as a step in the tragic conclusion of a soul, men have been taught to look for a remedy in their own consciousness, to discover causes somewhere in their own action or inaction, own vacillation of will, tyranny of passions, or lack of perception. They have awakened to a long deferred truth that the Power whom mankind so long feared, respected, sought to propitiate as a God, is no higher a Being than an imaginary Existence, created in man's own image, and projected out of man's own consciousness; —to the truth that Nature long contemplated as an instrument in the execu-

tion of so-called Divine Justice, is culpably indifferent to man's intention and observes no distinction between good and bad, virtuous and wicked souls, in the distribution of her fortune and misfortune. They have also faced the truth—a truth which follows as a correlative from the above, that Destiny whose dimension lengthens in proportion to the lengh of man's superstition and *vice versa*, and timidity, can have no access to a man's heart, and no influence over man's prosperity and adversity unless he forsakes his position as the commander, and goes out to deliver unto his hands the key of his soul. Since the soul of the age must find an expression in its drama, the modern dramatists must needs be well-versed in what Science and Philosophy have revealed to them. These dramas must needs be conceived in the midst of a highly intellectual environment, develop around persons who have wakened from their age-long slumber, and are at least struggling to open their eyes. The central figure of the decadent stage was either a God, or Destinity, or the influence of Heredity and Environment according as the period to which the dramas in question belonged was mythological, fatalistic, Ibsenian and Russian. With our forefathers men's miseries originated from the wrath of a God, caprices of a Fate, intervention of a malignant Destiny. Comparatively modern dramatists have traced them to the physical and mental deficiency due to the operations of the law of Heredity and forces of Environment, to the conflict that eternally exists between principles and expediency, convictions and traditions. The primitive stage, even the Romantic stage of England, have gone very little beyond the cruel psychology of murder, victory; psychology of a "deceived husband killing his wife, a woman poisoning her lover, a son avenging his father, a father slaughtering his children, children putting their father to death." Is not the psychology that these events disclose a psychology that is rudely elementary and brutally exceptional? Is not the tradition that puts upon these things a seal of moral approbation, a superficial, childish, vile, and unedifying tradition though presented

in an air of imposing sublimity ? What can the audience learn from these creatures who are obsessed with but one fixed idea, who have no time to live, leisure to be acquainted with the true self, because there is a death to avenge, dishonour to retrieve, a claimant to supplant, a heroic soul to seduce, a rival or a mistress to put to death ? If the stage be nothing but a reproduction of men's daily habits and customary occupations, it can exercise its influence only in confirming men's belief in the coarse traditions and primitive practices a soulless and unreflecting Society encourages and delights in. Maeterlinck, true to his position as a mystic, as a disciple of Marcus Aurelius, Novalis, Plotinus, Swedenborg, Emerson, Carlyle, would deliver the stage from the vulgar display of passions and violence characteristic of a vindictive and muscular humanity. He would give expression to the beauty, love, dignity, happiness that is ours when we belong ourselves and not to our passions or any alien forces. We do not live our true lives, remain unconscious of our real spiritual heritage, when any violent passion—passion of jealousy, revenge, hatred, ambition, even of love when it longs for a smile or even a bare recognition in return, takes possession of our soul and impels us to action. Should we not believe that the man who maintains communication with the deep eternal, who, seated in his arm chair, with the lamp burning by his side, with his ear open to the murmur of consciousness that streams from within, and, in the depth of silence, feels the contact of his heart with the universal Heart, and with every heart that vibrates with a responsive emotion, with the "touch that makes the whole world kin,"—should we not believe, that motionless as he is, it is he who lives in reality a deeper, more human, more universal, more intense and meaningful life, than "any of the lovers who strangled his mistress, captives who conquered in the battle-field, or the husband who avenged his honour?"

Imbued with the spirit of mystical psychology as Maeterlinck is in days of scientific culture, it is no common stroke of literary enterprise that Maeterlinck should initiate the step

to establish or revive in Europe what he calls a static stage, a spiritual drama, a drama of inward expression rather than of outward action. The static theatre does not aim at the exhibition of passions through action, but at the unfoldment of soul through a dialogue. This dialogue has all the essential attributes of silence, and is scarcely more articulate than the "rustle of the dead leaves that lie scattered about us." The persons introduced are nothing more than half impersonate thoughts or emotions, and possess nothing in common with the characters of the conventional stage except the fact that they bear a name. The figures of the orthodox drama cannot bear a single moment of silence, of withdrawal into self, without betraying something that indicates a low level of spiritual perception. We cannot conceive of their existence apart from the speech they use, the action they perform. The Maeterlinkian characters impress us with the eloquence of their tongue and the abundance of their heart amid an atmosphere of silence and loneliness. Without really exterminating any of the deities by which men's imagination was so long oppressed, modern philosophy and modern drama have taken a glimpse of the Eternal light that shines in each man's soul and have given to each of these exploded deities an existence that has its roots in the depth of man's consciousness. All these amount to a radical alteration of the point of view from which dramatists have to look upon life and interpret its happenings. A modern dramatist must therefore accommodate himself to the changes that have occurred in man's conception of the unknown, of the forces that really exist around and in him, and of the mystery that overhangs and underlies his existence. The process of accommodation may end in a certain lowering of the dramatic effect—particularly with the uninitiated audience. Destiny, God, Fate,—the magical formulas of ancient conception conjured up a host of agreeable illusion. But that illusion has been dispelled and the world has been divested of a certain charm, beauty, repose that is born of a pleasant falsehood,

a dubious philosophy: The poetical imagination has suffered a rude shock due to the explosion of long-cherished beliefs, long-standing faiths, long-established convention. But every art in order to be worthy of the dignity Maeterlinck claims for it, must work itself out amid an atmosphere of current spiritual realism. The terrible beauty that belongs to an unpleasant truth must always be preferred to the false light that hovers around ignorance and illusion. But has the new philosophy robbed the world of even a spark of wonder, beauty and fascinatian? Is what we call soul with all the spiritual perceptions and aspirations it implies less mysterious than Fate, Destiny, or Deity which sat so long enthroned upon the hearts of the race? Does our moral ardour and spiritual quest receive any set-back the moment we turn our eyes from Heaven and gaze into the Soul that lies stretched out in all its effulgent grandeur? The path of modern dramatists may be strewn with difficulties, but finer results await their efforts.

It may be said of Maeterlinck, as it is said of Wordsworth, that he would be nothing if not a teacher of mankind. He is born with a conscious desire of becoming a preacher, a teacher of a Gospel, a Gospel that would contain an explanation of life and of what it involves. Maeterlinck does not pretend that the explanation offered by him will be uncontroversially accepted by everybody. But he feels a self-gratifying pride that he has succeeded in supplying an explanation—an answer to the importunate question of the disillusioned and rebellious people—an explanation that at least contains the highest merits of a working hypothesis in an environment of doubt and unbelief. The avowed mission of Wordsworth was to open the blunt senses of wordly-minded people to the message of Nature and the spiritual consciousness it suggests, Maeterlinck performs the nobler task of imbuing every man with an adequate sense of responsibility and of dignity that belongs to every creature possessing a soul. He exerts men to rely upon the instincts of love, truth, goodness, justice

that reign in every bosom, rather than upon the behests of a theology, commands of outward authority. He is a believer in the essential goodness and purity of man and discards the theory of original sin and grace as treason against the majesty of Divinity that hides in every soul. He repudiates the doctrine of redemption through an external grace, and loudly condemns the elementary morality of reward and punishment for good and bad actions as highly retarding the progress of the race, and detrimental to the dignity of human destiny. Positive religions with a morality of external reward and punishment have rendered undoubted service to mankind—particularly at an elementary stage of civilisation. An outspoken philosophy with a masculine ethical code would prove a severe strain upon the consciousness of the infant race. The danger in front of the modern age is whether it will cheerfully face the difficulties of a spiritual readjustment, or indolently relapse into her former errors, illusion and prejudices. Until the next step that the age takes is taken in the right direction, men of genius in whom the new consciousness burns vividly, have to exert themselves in a most strenuous manner for its propagation among the species.

In harmony with this highly optimistic and individualistic outlook, all of Maeterlinck's characters are born and grown up amid an atmosphere of love, truth, justice and beauty. The meanest are made mean not because human minds are essentially base but because they serve to bring into relief the essential goodness and purity that belongs as a matter of right to his ideal men and women.

One is apt to believe that the soul of poetry in Maeterlinck is crushed under the weight of his ethical doctrines. In Maeterlinck the poet and the philosopher are seen side by side. Without sacrificing any of the essential attributes of a highly finished art, Maeterlinck has realised his philosophical end with that fine and elusive sese of inward perception which has made him the applause of admirers and despair of imitators.

JITENDRANATH DAS GUPTA

CUPID'S BIOGRAPHY[1]

As Science, Politics and Art—everything, indeed, that is more or less objective and grips attention—have changed with the roll of years, so has the conception of Love. Cupid was born among the ancients an evil genius, a propagator of infection. Ancient Love was always conceived as a disease, as an abnormal state of mind and body that ought to be resisted rather than encouraged. It was looked upon as a lesion of the mind and even of the spirit that put the soul out of gear. Excess of it paled, emaciated, brought to the eyes of our forbears rounded tears of loneliness and despair. This pathology of Love, of course, wanted *remedia*, and they injected love philtre to cure the sick and immunize the healthy. Who does not remember how Lucretius fell a victim to a stupid wife's experiments in such therapeutics of love ?

The whole of that ancient doctrine lies at full length in forbidden Ovid; no less does it sprawl in secret Vatsyayana east of Suez. Both were great legislators of the old world, giving points to either sex about the cult of Cupid or Madana.

Then follows the days of chivalry—the age of knights and ladies and their Courts of Love. Love was exalted to the first principle of mediaeval culture. From pathology to ethics was swift change. Dante and Petrarch, the Troubadours of the Midi and the Minnesingers of Central Europe all welcomed the change; and they sang and danced in joy. Without a capacity for love no man, they said, could be a 'gentil' man, no woman a 'dompna' or a lady in the mediaeval sense. 'Courtesy'—into that word pressed the mediaeval weal; and courtesy, as a Troubadour explained, was nothing but love. "*Cortesia es d'amer*" (to be courteous is to love).

[1] A French translation of this article was read at a meeting of the Indo-Latin Society, Calcutta, in 1929.

Amidst the rush and tear of modern life, most of us have forgotten the once famous Andrean code of mediaeval love. Well! it was as thorough a code as any other, with its regulative inhibitory and penal clauses.'' '*Causa conjugii non est ab amore excusatio rect*—'marrriage is no bar to love' was one of its Acts. *Qui non zelat amare non potest*—' whoever cannot enthuse cannot love' another. And, further, it embodied a whole series of Judgments on Love, delivered by the fairest of ladies, at once judge, jurist, patroness and inspirer, *incedens regina*. Even so did the solicitations of mediaeval society make love-making a necessity, inspire a code and even case law of love.

From the Middle Ages to the modern—what a big gap is that, again. How many long centuries have sunk between the two and disappeared beyond trace. History seems snapped, its logic confused, and one wonders if one has not been kidnapped. "Is it possible," as Vernon Lee [1] asks "that strong men have wept and fainted at a mere woman's name, like the Court of Nevers in Flamenca or that their mind has swooned away in months of reverie like that of Parzifal in Eschenbach's poem; that worldly wise and witty men have shipped off and died on sea for love of an unseen woman like Taufre Rudel ?'' No other occupation, diversion, attraction, interest in mediaeval life than mere love-making ? Such, indeed, are our perplexed inquiries.

When large-hearted, healthy-minded, cool-headed Gœthe said, "*Das Ewige Weibliche Zieht mich hinan*," The Eternal Feminine draws me thither,'' he, really, saw the Middle Ages and saw them whole. But to most of us moderns, all that open air mediaeval games of love, of continual chasing, missing and catching of the Protean god seems no more than the screening of a wild saga or a savage dance, misshapen "bungles'' of the imagination and "blunders'' of history. Worse still, you can accuse all self-complacent modern mediocrities of despairing

[1] V. Lee, Euphorion—Mediaeval Love, p. 346.

their more leisured ancestors foolishly and jealously, of calling their love illicit. The conviction is easy, for Nietzsche alone provides you with the most pungent of cynicisms about Cupid. Yes, " illicit love " how repellent is the phrase! It seems to stink in the nostrils. Yet the lips have to be parted and the phrase uttered, for round it circles all the lambent glory of middle aged Cupid.

Gone are the good old mediaeval times—beyond salvage, ' past surmisal.' Modern life bears none of its mediaeval connotation. There is no room in it for listless browsing, for endless repetitive romance of passion. There is, on the other hand too much of struggle for existence, too much of wrestle with political and economic realities, too much of thrust and parry in ambush with psychological complexes. What was once a social necessity has long relaxed into a respectable desirability. Modern Love has come to be a thing from which one can step aside and even escape. The vagaries of Cupid no longer interest the bulls and bears of the Stock Exchange. *Amour fait mont, argent fait tout*—Love is potent, but, money is omnipotent. The present is an office-going age; and the office bell has tolled the knell of parting love.

Who wrote on Modern Love ? Of course, George Meredith, complaining of its expensive irresponsibility, its intangible volatility. Now, suppose Andreas come to life again and legislates for us moderns. How would he stare ? Certainly, his first commandment would be : thou shalt not love too much, for too much love spoils business.

G. KAR

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

For modern, or shall we say "ultra-modern," music I display nothing more than a passing interest. Honegger, Schonberg, Bela Bartok or Stravinsky have fulfilled no definite service to the great scheme of music as did Wagner, Gounod or Verdi. All sense of rhythmic form and melody appears to have vanished for evermore, which is very sad. Schonberg pleaded that by his new treatment of musical composition he had helped free the world of music from the thraldom of tonality. A neat way of saying there was no one left capable of continuing the work of the recognised masters of musical art. Vincent d'Indy when repudiating the greatness of Schonberg, was met with the answer that Schonberg's music was meant to be read and not heard ! To this Vincent d'Indy heartily agreed "since a conglomeration of sounds without reason, equilibrium or logic, cannot be called music. It may be noise, but I am no judge of noises, and I have no interest in noises, be they described on paper or found in the universe."

It is surely indisputable evidence that the method of composition and the style of composition adapted and used by the old masters, is pre-eminent, if only by reason of its prolonged popularity and interest. Sensationalism found but little favour in the eyes of the old school, to-day, it is the battle cry of the modernists ! I find a wandering oboe theme that is harshly interrupted at the fourth or fifth bar by the crash of a cymbal or the boisterous bang of drums only serves to irritate rather than amuse. Did the composer run out of ideas after the first few bars and fled to invoke the welcome aid of drums to help him cover up his deficiency ? Harmony is a thing unknown to Bela Bartok or Stravinsky. "We must have freedom and indepen-

dence" they cry and proceed to write page upon page of dissonent passages for each and every instrument.

Some little time ago, before hearing a performance of Honegger's railway symphony (!) entitled "Pacific, 231" I visualised Beethoven in the midst of his beloved woods and country side seeking inspiration against the spectacle of Honegger drugged with ecstasy listening to the whistles, shrieks, groans and roars in a locomotive shed. Honegger states "that he has always passionately loved locomotives as other people love women and horses." Which, to say the very least, is a very peculiar statement for any rational being to make.

That these modernists, are thinkers and able performers of music I do not doubt in the least. My argument is, that their energy in the matter of composing is misplaced to no little extent. When they have said what they have to say it is nothing of any note nor does it have any lasting effect. A large number of my friends, established in almost every branch of music, expressed themselves intrigued by the rhythmic suggestion of the engine gathering speed as it proceeds on its journey in "Pacific, 231," but admitted, for the most, it was a matter of indifference whether they heard it again or no.

Music is a very powerful force, it can be used to suggest and display all types of emotion from joy to sadness, from ferocity to calmness. But if it is handled wrongly it can become a source of great annoyance and irritation. The greatest masters the world of music has ever known drew the necessary inspiration for their music from Nature. They sought it in the shady stillness of woods, and in the great open sunlit fields. They sought the voice of the Divine Creator and having found it they endeavoured to portray it to us less fortunate beings through the medium of their music. What is the result ? Why their music is as fresh to-day as ever it was and still as loved and popular in spite of the extremists and modernists who would perhaps pooh-pooh it ?

On word more. Music is sacred and we all love it an worship it as a gift of God, don't turn and twist it into a unrecognisable shape or before many years have past the ol traditions will have gone to the wall and music, because of it treatment in the hands of a few reckless people will become laughing-stock and a bore.

LELAND J. BERRY

POEMS OF INDIA

I.—Lines to a Muslim Lady

All veiled in white, a ghost-like form
Moves down the road, with tinkling clash
Of ankle-bells, trailing the scent
Of sandal-wood. But two dark eyes
I see, and one pale ivory hand,
Be-ringed and slim and henna-tipped.
Would that I might lift your yashmak,
And see your hidden charms, O maid,
For I fain would know if all the
Rest of you fulfils the promise
Of that gracile hand, those tiny
Slippered-feet, and slumbrous mid-night
Eyes. But you pass me by, shrouded
In mystery, and never shall
I know what loveliness you hid
Beneath your jealous cloak. Ah well,
No matter, for beauty lives in
Forms half-seen, and knowledge often
Ends the dream. So you will always
Be lovely, Muslim maid, to me!

II.—To a Nautch-Girl

Lilimani, thy henna-tinted feet
Too tiny are to trample wantonly
Men's hearts beneath them in the dust, as thou
Danceth with all the witchery of Ind
Bound in thy swaying form, and weaving thy
Gracile arms and fluent hands in measures
Intricate and rhythmic, bending lissome
Body to the drum-throb and melody

Of flutes. Dusky-featured, mid-night haired, lips
That smile inscrutably; kohl-enchanted
Eyes that beckon; ruby nose-ring, gleam of
Jewels, and the little knowing caste-mark
Twixt the half-moon of thy brows; slim and young
Thy form, swathed in gold-embroidered sari!
Lilimani, cruel thou to mock men
So with thy eyes and smiles and coquetry;
Cruel thou to dance so blithely on the
Breaking hearts that lie 'neath thy errant feet!

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE VICEROY'S ENGLISH HOME

Many in India will be interested in the English home of the Viceroy (Lord Irwin). Last year a book was published called "The History of Kirby Underdale" (with Garrowby), with a Preface by Lord Irwin, and dedicated to his father, Viscount Halifax, who is still active though ninety-nine years of age. The author is the Rev. W. R. Shepherd, who has been Rector there for thirty-three years.

A distinguished ancestor was George Wood, of Monk Bretton, near Barnsley, in West Yorkshire, who purchased that Manor House in 1610. The first to become a Baronet, Sir Francis Wood, of Barnsley, was born in 1729, and created Baronet in 1784. He died in 1795, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Francis Lindley Wood, the second Baronet, who was born in 1771 and bought the Garrowby estate in 1804. This includes the village of Kirby Underdale, of over five thousand acres, besides Buckthorpe and other property. He was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1814, and died in 1846.

Sir Francis Wood was succeeded in his title and estates by his eldest son, Sir Charless Lindley Wood. He was Member of Parliament for Great Grimsby 1826-31 : Wareham 1831-32 : Halifax 1832-65 : Ripon 1865-66. He held important offices in the Liberal Ministry. He was Joint Secretary to the Treasury 1832-34 : Secretary to the Admiralty 1835-39 : Chancellor of the Exchequer 1846-52 : President of the Board of Control 1852-55 : First Lord of the Admiralty 1855-58 : Secretary of State for India 1859-66 : Lord Privy Seal 1870-74.

While Secretary of State for India he took much interest in education, and in a well known despatch expressed the hope that it should be extended to all. He is regarded as a most enlightened Secretary, a forerunner in the beneficial legislation which is being carried out now while his grandson is Viceroy.

He was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Halifax of Mount Bretton, in the County of York, in 1866. He died in 1885.

Viscount Halifax was succeeded by his eldest son, the Hon. Charles Lindley Wood, who then became the second Viscount Halifax. He was formerly a Captain in the First West Riding Yeomanry Cavalry. He was Groom of the Bedchamber to King Edward VII, when Prince of Wales from 1862-77. He has devoted his long life to the work of the Church of England, and is greatly respected.

The Hon. Edward Frederick Lindley Wood (now Lord Irwin) was born in 1881 and educated at Eton, and at Christ-Church, Oxford. He was elected a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, in 1903,—a high honour only obtained by men of marked ability. The Garrowby estate was transferred to him by his father, Viscount Halifax, in the year 1906. He was member of Parliament for Ripon, 1910-1925, Under Secretary for the Colonies 1921-22, President of the Board of Education 1922-24, Minister of Agriculture 1924-25. He was raised to the Peerage in 1925 as Baron Irwin of Kirby Underdale, in the County of York, and became Viceroy of India in 1926, being well qualified for this responsible position. He married in 1909 Lady Dorothy Evelyn Augusta Onslow, younger daughter of the fourth Earl of Onslow. Their children are: Anne Dorothy, born 1910, Charles Ingram Courtenay, born 1912, Francis Hugh Peter Courtenay, born 1916, and Richard Frederick, born 1920. The sons are being educated at Eton, the famous school where many English noblemen have been educated.

Garrowby Hall was reconstructed in 1892, in the style of an old English country house. It is one and a half miles from the village of Kirby Underdale and the ancient Parish Church. There are evidences of human habitation in the hills near the village from early times, and many "barrows" or circular mounds covering burial places. They belong to the Neolithic or New Stone Age, about eight thousand years old.

Two thousand years ago came the Romans, who conquered the land and remained for four hundred years. Recently a stone was found, which had been in the Church wall, on which a Roman soldier, had carved a figure of Mercury, their god of good luck. The large City of York was fifteen miles off, where many Roman remains have been found. In the 7th century the Saxons settled at Kirby Underdale. Later came the Danes, whose mark is found in the names of places where they settled. Kirby means Kirkby, the "farm by the Church." This shows that there was a church, perhaps built by Christian Saxons before the Danes came. Underdale means "Hundalfdale," the "Valley of Hundalf," a Dane. Garrowby means "Gerward's farmstead," from the name of a Dane called Geirvarth.

The present church of Kirby Underdale was built about the year 1150, doubtless standing on the site of an earlier building for Christian Worship.

Experts arrive at the probable date on architectural grounds, comparing it with other Norman Churches in the neighbourhood. The original building was very small, consisting of a nave and chancel, and low tower. About fifty years later, in 1200, it was enlarged by cutting arches through the side walls and adding side aisles. About 1250 the chancel was enlarged, and later the tower was made higher. Thus the building was adapted to the number and needs of worshippers. It stands in a romantic position by a little stream called the Hundle, which takes its name from Hundalf the Dane.

In the Great War of 1914-18, thirty-one men (including Major Wood—now Lord Irwin) served from this parish of three hundred people. Their names are inscribed on a brass plate in the Church. Three of them laid down their lives, and a beautiful stained glass window records their sacrifice. A stone crucifix has been erected in the village as a war Memorial. Thus the bravery of our men is kept constantly before the minds of the inhabitants.

Lord Irwin has his family pew in the Parish Church, and helps the Rector by reading the lessons from the Bible during Divine Service. Peer and peasant meet together for Public Worship without distinction of rank, all being equal in the sight of God.

The village school is in the Parish, with the teacher's house adjoining. There the children, about forty in number, are taught on five days of the week, by a Head Teacher and an Assistant.

Each day the school opens with prayers and a hymn, and with a Bible lesson of half an hour. Religion is believed to be the foundation of knowledge. Then follow lessons in other subjects. Children attend school between the ages of five and fourteen. Education is compulsory and without fee. It is intended soon to raise the age to fifteen for leaving. The children play games after school is over, and at intervals during school hours. For older boys and men there is a Cricket Club, which has a field for practice and for matches with other Clubs. There is a Village Library, from which all can borrow books free of charge. The books come from the County Library, and are changed every three months. Thus people can always have good books on many subjects. There is a Recreation Room where all who wish can meet in the evening and play indoor games and read the newspapers. Concerts and Whist Drives and other kinds of entertainment are held from time to time in the schoolroom. Dances are also held. These are very popular and are well attended.

Women and girls are remembered in their work and recreation. Lady Irwin is much interested in Women's Institutes, which are now set up in nearly all English villages. These institutions encourage the development of industries like glove-making, rug and mattress making, quilting, millinery, so useful for every home. Meetings are held monthly for music, singing and games. Lectures on literary and scientific subjects are given by experts. The dramatic instinct is developed by

plays from Shakespeare and other great English dramatists. Competitions are held in a central town before some competent judge.

In addition to the special work of the Women's Institute the County Councils send lecturers to hold classes in the villages for boys, girls, men and women, in various useful subjects, at a very small fee, the lecturers being paid by the County Councils out of the rates. For boys and men, classes are held in carpentry and gardening, and for girls and women in cookery and dress-making. In the larger centres, in towns, the range of subjects taught is widely extended, including almost every thing of a technical character as well as science and literature. Many of these are meant to enable suitable candidates to prepare for the higher education of the Universities.

This district is agricultural; there are no other industries. The land is partly arable and partly pasture. Farms average a hundred acres in size. Farm servants, when not married, live in the farmhouses and are given board and lodging and a yearly wage. They are hired by the year, at the end of November, when they all get a week's holiday. Hours of work and wages are fixed by authority. They all have a half-holiday on Saturday afternoon. The necessary feeding of animals, when the men are not at work, is done by the farmer and his family. Sunday is free from labour, thus giving opportunity for Divine Worship at Church, and for rest.

Years ago, few went away from the villages, except the farmer when he took his produce to market. But now there are motor-buses passing several times a day. People can go easily by bus to the neighbouring towns for shopping and amusement.

Lord Irwin's Home Farm covers a thousand acres. This is in charge of a young man who had a training in scientific farming at an Agricultural College. All the work is carried out on the best modern lines. Crops of wheat, barley and oats are grown, also root crops. Much of the land is good permanent pasture, providing hay for the horses, cattle and sheep,

Yorkshire is famous for its horses and at Malton, ten miles off, there are stables for race-horses. The Yorkrhire Shorthorn cattle are well known. Large flocks of sheep find pasture on the Wolds—with their steep hill sides—where ploughing is impossible. At Garrowby Home Farm, Lord Irwin has model cow-houses, lined with white tiles, where the milking cattle are kept scrupulously clean. Adjoining is a model dairy where butter is made under ideal conditions. For some years the the large City of Hull was supplied daily with milk from Garrowby, the milk being sent in locked cans by train.

In these ways Lord Irwin has given a good example of farming to his tenants, under the best modern condition. When at home he has mixed freely with all his estate, glad to hear their opinions on details of farm work, and ready to improve their houses and farm buildings when necessary.

All looked forward eagerly to the return last summer of Lord and Lady Irwin, and gave them a warm welcome. They visited every house, showing interest in the welfare of each family, sympathising with the sick and suffering, and regretting the deaths of various old and valued friends who had died since they left for India. Though the tenants fully recognise the value of Lord Irwin's services to the State in his high office of Viceroy of India, they miss his presence, and they look forward to the time when on retiring from office he will once more be resident amongst them during the greater part of the year.

Lord Irwin has contributed a Preface to the History in which he recalls that his parents always loved Garrowby, and that he remembered the delight with which as children he and his sisters used to be taken out riding down the Yorkshire dales, and then back to tea to eat delicious moor honey, followed between tea and bed time by their father reading a novel of Sir Walter Scott to assembled youthful listeners. The recollections of his boyhood were very happy and were enriched by countless friendships in every part of the estate.

WILLIAM RICHARD SHEPHERD

WHY AMERICA HAS BECOME SO GREAT?

The United States of America in one sense, is the greatest country in the world. It is pure humbug on the part of Indians when they speak of the monopoly of spiritual qualities of the people of the Orient and of the materialistic tendency of the West. If the spirit of service and public welfare can be regarded as an index of "spirituality" in practice, then the people of the United States, with their material prosperity, surpass any other people. The following news-item from Washington, D. C. should be carefully read by Indian richmen and women and politicians:—

Washington.—"Creation of a graduate school of international affairs to be affiliated with one of the universities now existing in Washington is provided in the will of Judge Edwin B. Parker, a member of the mixed claims commission, who died, October 12, which was filed for probate recently in District Supreme Court.

Provision is made that the bulk of the $2,000,000 estate shall establish the Parker endowment fund and that the Riggs National Bank, executor and trustee under the testament, shall have charge of the financing of the school.

The board of supervising trustees of the school is to be headed by Associate Justice Harian F. Stone, of the United States Supreme Court, as chairman; Frank Fritts, of Chester, N. J., is to be secretary, and other members are Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, Attorney General William D. Mitchell and Harry T. Klein of New York.

Judge Parker specified that the school is to 'teach high-minded young men of proven character and ability subjects calculated to equip them to render practical service of a high order to the United States government in its foreign relations.' Suggestion is made that the school's scope of work be 'broadly conceived

and be always adjusted to meet the need of the times,' the Post reports.

The Katherine Parker music foundation also is established under the will. This is to consist of $100,000 fund, the net income of which is to be used by the national board of the Young Women's Christian Association to establish and maintain a department of music to promote and stimulate the use of music in activities of the association. The will directs that this department give special attention to girl reserve organizations in industrial centres and rural communities.''

Literally there are hundreds of foundations established by Americans for the promotion of human welfare. More than four billion dollars are the estimated assets of these foundations and philanthrophic enterprises. Such institutions as Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Princeton, Chicago and other universities are maintained through public support. American greatness lies in the spirit of public service among its citizens.

During the last five years I have made definite suggestion through various channels that the alumni of Calcutta University should make a systematic effort to raise two lakhs of rupees annually, so that this sum may be capitalised to maintain a chair on a special subject. I have particularly emphasised that Calcutta University should create a chair of "International Law," another chair of "International Relations," another chair of "Municipal Government." In fact steps should be taken to create a really efficient department of Political Science, in connection with Calcutta University.

It may be suggested that it cannot be done without financial support. It is well-known that the Government of India has never any want of money to maintain military forces, and C.I.D's. In provincial governments the situation is not different from that of the Central Government. *But if the struggle for national regeneration is to be carried on with a constructive plan then the existing Indian Universities must be supported by the Indian people with the necessary funds. The money*

spent to strengthen Indian Universities and to raise their standard should be regarded as the soundest of all national investments.

There are many rich men and women in Bengal who can do a great deal to aid Calcutta University and thus India as a whole and Bengal in particular. The magnificent gifts of the late Sir Taraknath Palit, the late Sir Rashbehari Ghose, the late Maharaja Manindrachandra Nandy and others in the field of national education have brought about a new era of hope in the educational life of Bengal. Of course one should not forget to point out that the European community which has made millions of pounds annually out of Bengal has done practically nothing to aid the cause of education. However the time has come to make a systematic effort to raise "Endowment Funds" in connection with Calcutta University to make it one of the foremost educational institutions of the world. Will the alumni of Calcutta University take the initiative to fulfil their material and moral debt to their Alma Mater? Will they follow the American example and help to make India great? There is no gift higher than the gift of education.

TARAKNATH DAS

DAUGHTER OF THE SUN

The rippling laughter of the tender Spring
Has fashioned her young limbs;
Some love-lorn *Apsara* upon the wing
Has paused to paint the rims
Of her soft eyes with love that's deep of dye.
In spotless Samite white
She stands, a seraph envoyed from the sky,
A harbinger of light!

Her flowing, fulgent garments are confined
'Neath carved, silver zone,
As with a belt of cloud the moon is lined
When summer is full-grown:
The flower-like innocence of her chaste soul
Sheds perfume on the air;
Her dreaming eyes gaze at some mystic scroll,
A high emprise they dare.

Youth beckons her to undiscovered lands
Among the pathless stars,
While childhood with its sportive cherub bands
Keeps her in cloistered bowers:
'Twixt unseen flute-call of sweet maidenhood
That calls from far away,
And girlhood's gamboling games so gay, so good
Her trembling heart doth sway.

She sat upon a sylvan river bank,
While evening shadows grew;
And one by one the tiny pebbles sank
That *she* so gently threw....
Methinks, a gleam of sunlight took this shape
So human yet divine;
Beholding her no artist could escape
That magic so benign!

CYRIL MODAK

THE NINTH SECTION OF THE REGULATING ACT OF 1773

In the middle of the eighteenth century the East India Company was no longer merely a trading body. It had become a military and territorial power, taking part in the politics of the country and fighting with its enemies, European and Indian. The sword had become more important than the ledger. Yet the machinery of administration in India was in essentials unaltered. For instance, nothing was done to place the three presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras under a unified control in India. The Portuguese, the Dutch and the French had each established a central government in the East exercising large powers of control. But the three English presidencies pursued their affairs independently of each other.[1]

The inconvenience of the system began to be felt from the time when the Company had to fight with the French.[2] Civil and military authorities agreed on the need of some sort of central control over the affairs of the three presidencies. When in 1760 the English army laid seige to Pondicherry, Sir Eyre (then Colonel) Coote and his officers giving their opinion on the existing state of affairs said, "We cannot sufficiently lament the want of a power being invested in some particular person, who might order detachments from the other two presidencies to join the army at this critical juncture, by which means we might be enabled to undertake the seige of Pondicherry with a probability of success" without (as we imagine) endangering those presidencies[3], Palk, who became Governor of Madras, also pointed out at this time the evil consequences of a system of having three presidencies independent of each other. He said, "...as each presidency has or can at all times pretend to have, apprehensions for

[1] The factory period is not being taken into consideration.

[2] Auber—Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, Vol. I, p. 337.

[3] Coote's Journal—Orme Mss. (India), Vol. 8, p. 1933.

itself, a due attention is seldom paid to the danger of the rest .. Besides this division of power obliges each presidency to make different alliances, even with the same princes, which lessens the authority of the Company; and it has happened that one presidency refused to communicate to another a treaty just agreed on, though the other was negotiating on affairs of the greatest consequence with the same prince."[4] Again in 1764 Lord Clive spoke of the "appointment of such an officer as the 'Governor General,' who, he also said, ought to be established in Bengal, as the greatest weight of your civil, commercial, political, and military affairs will always be in that province."[5] However nothing was then done to bring together the power of the Company scattered in different parts of India. When the English triumphed over their European rival, they were faced with the necessity of contending with their Indian enemies. Warren Hastings in 1770 clearly foresaw the impending struggle with the Marathas, and in letters written to friends in England pointed out the importance of a union between the three presidencies as the only means of opposing that power.[6] His description of the relations of the three presidencies corresponded with that given by Palk some years earlier. He said, "..... their interests draw them different ways, they may counteract each other's motions, be at the same time allies and enemies to the same power, or inadvertently precipitate each other into wars without notice and therefore without due preparation."[7] The need of a central authority in India to direct the foreign policy of the English Settlements had become pressing.

Lord North who was then Prime Minister realised this clearly, and in 1773 laid the foundation of a central government

[4] Palk's plan (of a settlement with the French)—French in India Series; Vol. I, Bundle I, Packet 5, No. 38.

[5] Clive to Directors—Forrest—Life of Lord Clive. Vol. II, p. 203.

[6] Hastings to Lawrence Sullivan—Fort. St. George. 1 February, 1770. Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. No. 29, 126, fo. 15....and Hastings to (Lord Shelburne ?)...Fort St. George. 16. July, 1771. Idem. ff. 74 (b)—75 (b) and 76.

[7] Idem fo. 75 (b).

in British India. Introducing in the House of Commons his "bill for the better regulation of the affairs of the Company" he said, "there is one alteration which seems to be of great necessity for the company, that is that there must be some superiority lodged in one of their presidents in India in certain cases over the others." A controlling power was therefore to be given to one of the presidencies over the others in cases of commencing hostilities, and making treaties with Indian princes. That power, Lord North said, would be "most properly lodged at Bengal, the great and important seat of the English power in India....."[8] Lord Clive, though advocating the establishment of a central authority in India, proposed that a discretionary power be left to Madras and Bombay to commence hostilities or negotiate treaties in such cases of necessity as would render it dangerous to wait till the orders from Bengal arrived. He said that during a great part of the year the presidencies were cut off from each other by a distance of two months, and it might not always be possible to wait for orders from Bengal. He then pointed out that if the president of Bengal had to wait for orders from the Court of Directors "we should not have at this time one foot of ground in the East Indies."[9]

Governor Johnstone objected to the union of the presidencies under one head. He was of opinion that under the circumstances a federal union would be a better system.[10] Another member Mr. Jenkinson, proposed that the superintending body must move from place to place.[11] Nothing resulted from the two latter suggestions and it was enacted that ".....the said Governor General and Council or the major part of them shall have, and they are hereby authorized to have, power of superintending and controlling the government and management of the presidencies

[8] Debates of the House of Commons—Reported by Sir H. Cavendish. Brit. Mus. Bibl. Egerton—No. 246, ff. 40-41.

[9] Idem No. 249 ff. 133-134.

[10] Idem ff. 140-3.

[11] Idem fo. 158.

of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen respectively so far and in so much as that it shall not be lawful for any president and council of Madras, Bombay or Bencoolen to make any orders for commencing hostilities or declaring or making war, against any Indian princes or powers, or for negotiating or concluding any treaty of peace, or other treaty with any such Indian princes or powers, without the consent and approbation of the said Governor General and Council first had and obtained, except in such cases of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone such hostilities or treaties until the orders from the Governor General and Council might arrive; and except in such cases where the said presidents and councils respectively shall have received special orders from the said United Company; and any president and Council of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen who shall offend in any of the cases aforesaid, shall be liable to be suspended from his or their office by the order of the said Governor General and Council, and every president and council of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen for the time being shall and they are hereby respectively directed and required to pay due obedience to such orders as they shall receive, touching the premises from the said Governor General and Council for the time being; and constantly and diligently to transmit to the said Governor General and Council advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters whatsoever that shall come to their knowledge relating to the government, revenues or interest of the said United Company... ...''[12]

Thus the proposals of Lord North with the qualifications suggested by Lord Clive were given effect to. The only power that was given by this clause to the Governor General and Council was one of saying " Yes " or " No " when matters of commencing war or negotiating treaties were referred to them. No positive power was implied in the wording of the clause. The limitations imposed upon the subordinate presidencies were

[12] 13. Geo. III, Cap. LXIII. S. IX.

qualified by such large exceptions that they were left practically in the same position as before. The Governor General and Council could be ignored practically at every step on the pleas of imminent necessity and orders from the Directors. It was left to the subordinate presidency to judge what constituted such a case of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone hostiities or treaties until the arrival of orders from Bengal. Again instuctions from the Directors could be contrary to the policy of the controlling government.

On the other hand a responsibility for the well being of the whole was fixed upon the Governor General and Council by the Directors who in 1774 instructed the new administration of Bengal to "fix your attention to the preservation of peace throughout India and to the security of the possessions and the revenues of the Company."[13] This gave the Supreme Council sufficient inducement to intervene on almost every occasion in the affairs of the subordinate presidency, even without a strictly legal support for the intervention. The temptation to interfere was sure to be irresistible in times of war, as the subordinate government depended to a considerable extent on the Governor General and Council for men, money and supplies in such exigencies. The relations between the superior and inferior presidencies as defined by law would then appear illogical. However without legal support the Governor General and Council could not assume power equal to their responsibilities. At every step they were sure to find their interference questioned. The clause left the Bengal Government in the absurd position of having to support wars without possessing an effective voice in their commencement or conclusion. This therefore like other sections of the act was full of the seeds of dissension and set one authority against another.

Such a law could not work. The years 1774-1784,—years during which the Regulating Act was in force—were marked by

[13] Directors to Bengal—29th March, 1774. Para. I, Bengal Despatches, Vol. 7.

acute differences between the supreme council and the subordinate presidencies. The principal object of the Act, namely to enable the three presidencies to present a united front before their enemies could not be achieved. It will not be possible in the course of this article to dwell on the subjects of dissensions between the presidencies. Suffice it to say that after the Act had been in operation for eight years a Select Committee of the House of Commons reported that, "the several presidencies have acted in a great degree upon their own separate authority, and as little of unity, concert or regular system has appeared in their conduct as was ever known before this institution."[14] The dissensions between the presidencies were so notorious as to attract the attention of even the Indian princes. The Nizam complained to Hastings: "I find that none of the Company's chiefs will obey your orders, and that there is not between you that mutual confidence and dependence which is necessary for the administration of affairs, but on the contrary the government of Madras, Bombay, Surat and all the rest of them act by their own will and opinions,.....with whom can I negotiate."[15]

Such were the results of that section of the Regulating Act of 1773 which laid the seed of a central government for British India. Its defects were remedied by the grant of larger powers of control to the Bengal Government in 1784.

A. P. DAS GUPTA

[14] Ninth report from the Select Committee to take into consideration the state of the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.—1783.]

[15] Nizam to Governor-General—Received 27th July 1780—Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. No. 29,200, fo. 173.

THE TALE OF CHADDANTA

The Master said, " She weeps for a great wrong,
She did me in some dim-remembered life.
Now, learning of that monstrous sin she grieves,
And seeks to ease her aching spirit's strife.

" I once was a white elephant—the chief
Of the great Himalayan tribes that roamed,
Far from the haunts of men, and lived such lives
As pleased them best, where the pale lotus foamed ;

" I had two queens and each was well-beloved,
But once—when the great *sal* grove was in flower—
I took my herd and went with my two queens
To dally in the woods an evening hour.

" And, as it happed, I struck a great *sal* tree
Cullasubhadda stood to the windward,
So twigs, dry leaves, and ants showered down on her,
In her there leaped to life some jealous chord ;

" For on the lee Mahasubhadda stood,
And perfumed flowers and soft green leaves fell down
And cast a perfect mantle over her,
Cullasubhadda turned with dark'ning frown.

" Because she thought her rival was beloved
Beyond herself, she went to a far shrine
And made a plea : ' Let me soon pass away
To be reborn as some princess divine.

" 'I will that I become the queen of one
Who loves me well, that I may work my will
Upon this prince of elephants. ' I pray
That I remember I must work him ill.'

" In time she died and was reborn to state,
But she remembered still her ancient vow,
And when she was a mighty queen she called
Her lord to her, and made submissive bow.

" ' I crave a boon,' she cried to him, ' for health
Is mine no more. Among a distant herd
Dwells the white elephant, Chaddanta, King
Of elephants. List to my pleading word.

" ' He has six tusks, so long and strong and white
That he destroys all that lies in his path.
Kill me that beast and bring to me his tusks :
Such gift alone with ease my spirit's wrath.'

" In time a poisoned arrow wounded me,
And, when I asked the hunter why the deed
Of hate, he told me of the vengeful queen,
And of her strange, health-fain, insistent need.

" I gave to him my tusks of ivory
To bring to her : I knew them of small worth
For I was striving for Omniscience ;
Then, dying, I sank slowly to the earth.

" But she, that vengeful queen, was filled with grief
When she beheld my tusks of ivory :
When she remembered I was dear to her
In former years, a breaking heart had she.

" Yea, there she sits in yellow robe of grace,
And craves forgiveness of that ancient wrong.
Since I am freed from pain and grief of it,
Then she in faith will soon be true and strong."

MARION ISABEL ANGUS

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY

Happiness.

Happiness is with Shelley (as with Aristotle in his Nicomachean Ethics, Books IV and VII) the main object of morals. He observes in his essay "On the Literature and Arts of the Athenians" that "a summary idea may be formed of the worth of any political or religious system, by observing the comparative degree of happiness and of intellect produced under its influence." The happiness of the individuals composing a community is according to Shelley the real test of the proper management of human society. It shows his affinity with philosophers like Hutcheson whose system of moral philosophy aims at the highest happiness and perfection of men and Shelley specifically dwells on the idea of universal happiness. A very important modification of the principle is however proposed when Shelley says that "the object is not merely the quantity of happiness enjoyed by individuals as sensitive beings, but the mode in which it should be distributed among them as social beings and the distribution should be according to the just claims of each individual. The disposition in an individual to promote this object is called virtue." Shelley is not like Godwin utilitarian in his moral philosophy; he rather accepts the Platonic view of virtue being happiness. Shelley does not unfortunately define happiness as the Greek philosophers have done. Virtue and the Good are well-nigh identical in the Stoic system and the Epicureans make virtue and happiness inseparable (even though their hedonism is egoistic). Aquinas too, following Aristotle, makes happiness the ultimate end of human action as the highest good but he places that good in God. He

distinguishes happiness from pleasure. Bentham is the first writer who definitely makes pleasure the very basis of morals and elaborates the principle of utility and of the all-controlling power of pleasure and pain. In his letters Shelley speaks of his "desire to establish on a lasting basis the happiness of human[1] kind" and of his plan being "that of resolving to lose no opportunity to disseminate truth and happiness."[2]

Psychological Views.

Shelley's moral philosophy has reference to his psychological ideas. The most important part of moral science, according to Shelley, consists in due appreciation of the general effects of man's peculiarities proceeding from a profounder source within each man than that from which result the series of man's habitual conduct deriving its origin from without and in cultivating the habit of acquiring decisive knowledge respecting the tendencies arising out of them in particular cases. Practically Shelley anticipates the psychological view of the *subconscious* in man referring to it as "the deepest abyss of these vast and multitudinous caverns." In his "Defence of Poetry" we come across a strange remark about poetic inspiration—the evanescent visitations of thought and feeling—in which Shelley speaks of "the caverns of the spirit" inhabited by "vanishing apparitions which haunt the interlunations of life" from which there is "no portal of expression into the universe of things" for them. Indirectly and remotely Shelley, however, indicates unmistakably that the deeper aspects of man's mental and moral activities are traceable to the subconscious. Men differ, he holds, inspite of their apparently superficial uniformity in outward actions, fundamentally in that class of actions which have a vital influence on the happiness of others and their own—"those little nameless, unpremeditated acts of kindness and of love" as well as those deadly outrages which are inflicted by

[1] Letter of January 7, 1812, to Miss Elizabeth Hitchener.

[2] Letter of January 10, 1812, to William Godwin.

a look, a word—or less—the very refraining from some faint and most evanescent expression of countenance. "Each individual," says Shelley, "who composes the vast multitude which we have been contemplating, has a peculiar frame of mind, which, whilst the features of the great mass of his actions remain uniform, impresses the minuter lineaments with its peculiar hues." In his "Essay on Christianity" he says—"Every human mind has what Bacon calls its "*idola specûs*—peculiar images which reside in the inner cave of thought. These constitute the essential and distinctive character of every human being; to which every action and every word have intimate relation; and by which, in depicting a character, the genuineness and meaning of these words and actions are to be determined." A faint hint can be detected even in the approval given by Shelley to the line of distinction drawn by Hogg "between instinctive and rational motives of action; the former being not in our own power."[1]

Therefore he refers to "two classes of agency, common in a degree to every human being." The external features of men's conduct are subject to the influence of that "legislature created by the general representation of the past feelings of mankind which affects the surface of man's being but *internally all is conducted otherwise*" (Italics mine).

The Intuitive View.

Thus Shelley seems to have, however dimly and vaguely, an idea of the distinction between the intuitive and inductive schools of ethics, though it may not be safe to push this point far on the strength of the meagre evidence furnished by his suggestive hints. At any rate this important aspect of Shelley's mental and moral philosophy has not received adequate attention from those critics who explain Shelley's ethics as due to Godwin's influence. Shelley at one time followed, no doubt, Locke in denying the very existence of inmate ideas but in ethics Shelley cannot follow Locke who

[1] Letter to Hogg from Field Place (probably of January 23, 1811).

assigns our moral discernment to three things, *viz.*, (1) Divine Law, (2) Civil Law and (3) Public Opinion or Reputation.

Is Shelley's Moral Philosophy Utilitarian?

It should be noted that though apparently accepting a view which may be taken for *utilitarian*, Shelley really suggests the intuitive view of an innate moral sense in man somewhat after the manner of Hutcheson. Shelley was influenced by Hume's "Enquiry concerning Morals." Clarke's theory of *fitness* of actions depending on man's relation with man reduces man's duty to his fellow men into Justice and Benevolence as Shelley too does in his "Speculations on Morals." Hutcheson also resolves virtue into Benevolence in the exercise of which man finds the highest kind of happiness.

At all events it is quite clear that Shelley's remark regarding the highest *pleasure* of the greatest number (even if pleasure is identified with happiness) becomes clarified in its real signification by the deliberate emphasis he lays on the element of disinterestedness. "How can the hope of a higher reward stimulating an action make it virtuous if the essence of virtue is disinterested, as all who know anything of virtue must allow!" (Letter of April 24, 1811.) Besides, as we have noted, to Shelley the mode of distributing happiness is of greater importance than its *quantity*.

Pleasure.

In the emphasis Shelley lays on "the highest pleasure" his leaning is more towards a modified hedonism than to utilitarianism and he seems to be influenced more by Plato's *Protagoras* than by Godwin's *Political Justice*. Godwin, no doubt, identifies evil with pain (Book III, Ch. III) and good with pleasure (Book IV, Ch. XI). But Hobbes also makes pleasure the same as the sense of good and Locke, whose works Shelley read with care, makes pleasure and pain the standards of good and evil, happiness being the highest pleasure for man and misery the utmost pain. "The ultimate end of moral good and evil," says Locke, "is the production of pleasure and pain to sentient beings." Hutcheson gives an

elaborate analysis of pleasure in connection with his discussion of happiness which consists in the perfect exercise of man's noblest virtues Bentham in his exhaustive analysis and enumeration of pleasures and pains divides them into self-regarding and extra-regarding ones making the presence of pleasure and the absence of pain the test of happiness considered as man's highest end. Shelley's emphasis on disinterestedness as the essence of moral good differentiates him from the strict utilitarian conception of morals. Though happiness is never clearly defined by Shelley, his implication is that it is the surplus (or, as he prefers to call it, *overbalance*) of pleasure over pain and its aim is the sparing of man's susceptibility to suffering. "It is because an action produces an overbalance of pleasure or pain to the greatest number of sentient beings, and not merely because its consequences are beneficial or injurious to the author of that action, that it is good or evil." Something like this is practically the view of Aristippus, the Cyrenaic. We do not know for certain if Shelley was acquainted with Butler's ethical ideas. The deliberate pursuit of happiness according to Butler will only result in a refined form of self-love; men should seek the good of others and by such a *disinterested* [1] pursuit of virtue they will necessarily enjoy the greatest happiness. Greater emphasis is put on benevolent dispositions, having no reference to private or personal interest whatsoever—not even to self-approbation—by Hutcheson who strongly affirms the existence in human nature of such an element as pure disinterestedness. Disinterestedness is made by such mystics as St. Bernard the fundamental characteristic of love divine produced by the exercise of compassion towards others and Shelley lays stress on sympathy. Hume bases the sentiment of moral approbation on disinterestedness as a principle of action and Richard Price lends support to Butler's

[1] *Cf.* "No cause do I esteem so indissolubly annexed to its effect as the sincere love of virtue to the disinterested practice of its dictates" (Letter of November 20, 1811).

view regarding the disinterested nature of human affections. Shelley says in his "Speculations on Morals"—"All the theories which have refined and exalted humanity, or those which have been devised as alleviations of its mistakes and evils, have been based upon the elementary emotions of disinterestedness, which we feel to constitute the majesty of our nature." Patriotism, chivalry, love are based on the theory of self-sacrifice and Shelley cites them "only to establish the proposition that, according to the elementary principles of mind, man is capable of desiring and pursuing good for its own sake."[1] The character of Jesus Christ powerfully appealed to Shelley's imagination on this account and inspired him in re-creating the ideal character of his hero Prometheus on the basis of Christ's disinterestedness and one of the Spirits called by the Earth in *Prometheus Unbound* to give solace and strength to the hero is the Spirit of Altruism. This ideal of the pursuit of good for its own sake has little to do with utilitarianism. Disinterested desires are desires of objects for their own sake and not as means to the pleasures which may actually be found, however, to accompany the satisfaction of such desires.

In the "Defence of Poetry", which embodies Shelley's maturest speculations, he examines what is meant by utility. A sensitive and intelligent being seeks, and when found acquiesces, in pleasure or good. "There are two kinds of pleasure: one durable, universal, and permanent; the other transitory and particular. Utility may either express the means of producing the former or the latter. In the former sense, whatever strengthens and purifies the affections, enlarges the imagination, and adds spirit to sense, is useful. But a narrower meaning may be assigned to the word utility, confining it to express that which banishes the importunity of the wants of our animal nature, the surrounding man with security of life, the dispersing the grosser delusions of superstition, and the

[1] According to Clarke virtue truly deserves to be chosen for its own sake.

conciliating such a degree of mutual forbearance among men as may consist with the motives of personal advantage." In the next paragraph while admitting that such promoters of utility in this limited sense have their appointed office he solemnly warns them lest with the French writers, evidently of the rationalistic school, they "deface the eternal truths charactered upon the imaginations of man," lest they, with the "mechanist who abridges, and the political economist who combines, labour, by divorcing their speculatories from first principles belonging to the imagination, tend to exasperate at once the extremes of luxury and want." Godwin remained to the end an eighteenth century rationalist but Shelley passed on to Platonism. He strongly condemns the "unmitigated exercise of the calculating faculty." We want the generous impulse to act that which we imagine " * * "our calculations have outrun conception." His condemnation of utility in its narrow sense becomes still stronger when he says—"What were virtue, love, patriotism, friendship—what were the scenery of this beautiful universe which we inhabit; what were our consolations on this side of the grave—and what were aspirations beyond it, if poetry did not ascend to bring light and fire from those eternal regions where the owl-winged faculty of calculation dare not ever soar?"

He points out the difficulty of defining pleasure in its highest sense but adds that the production and assurance of pleasure in the highest sense is truly utility and that those who produce and preserve this pleasure are poets or practical philosophers. Whereas Godwin holds that "morality is nothing else but a calculation of consequences, and an adoption of that mode of conduct which, upon the most comprehensive view, appears to be attended with a balance of general pleasure and happiness." (*Political Justice*, Book IV, Ch. VI.) Godwin's utilitarian bias is evident also in Book II, Ch. IV and Book VIII, Ch. II, and in the latter he definitely lays down that "the criterion of morals is utility." He says that "a preponderance

of resulting good is imagined in every action." On the question of punishment for crime his idea is that justice can approve of the infliction of suffering if it is attended by benefit.

It is not suggested, however, that Shelley was not at all influenced by Godwin's views on morals. It is as great a blunder to altogether ignore that influence as to exaggerate it. We have attempted to discover the points of contact between the master and the disciple, bearing in mind that the master's influence began to appreciably decline after the year 1815 or 1816. Even in 1811 when Godwin's influence was very powerful Shelley wrote to Hogg—"what constitutes real virtue?—motive, or consequence? Surely the former. * * Shall we take Godwin's criterion: Expediency? Oh! surely not."[1]

Regarding the most practical question for ethics, *viz.*, "how are we to discover what actions are right?" Shelley's answer is definite and clear. He does not accept the Godwinian view of the moral criterion being utility or a calculation of consequences. The principle by which men are guided in deciding whether particular acts are right or wrong, good or bad, is a distinct conception of duty or obligation which men find in their minds as something primary and fundamental, as something elementary. Shelley holds that "the benevolent propensities are thus inherent in the human mind." According to Shelley, men can discover what actions are right by **immediate** judgment without any knowledge of the *consequences* of an act and without any special reference to the pleasure of the actor or of society in general. Then again, perfectionism makes moral well-being and not pleasure, whether of individuals or of the whole of humanity, the end of action. And Shelley, we have noted, considers perfection to be a rational end of man. If other ends than pleasure be once admitted, such, for instance, as moral welfare, intellectual or aesthetic activity, the system which does so cannot accurately

[1] Letter to Hogg from Cuckfield (probably of May 13, 1811).

be described as utilitarian. A thorough-going utilitarian holds that man can desire nothing but pleasure and that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is desired because thereby one's own maximum pleasure is ultimately secured. This is essentially a psychological question and against such a psychological assumption it may be fairly urged that it is more correct to say that pleasure does not condition desire but it is rather the desire which is the condition of the pleasure which results from the satisfaction of desire. It may also be urged that men may, and sometimes do, desire other things than pleasure and some kinds of pleasure proceed from the satisfaction of a desire for something other than the pleasure. The acceptance, however vaguely and indirectly, of the psychological idea of the subconscious in man means emphasis on instinctive action which is neither truly egoistic nor altruistic, even though primitive instincts may be favourable to self-preservation or race-continuity. The psychology of lower animals or of primitive men does not support the hedonist's contention that all desires are desires of pleasure. Moreover, in the strictest sense, utilitarian hedonism may be permitted to speak of pleasure in terms of quantity but not of quality. To classify pleasures as higher and lower is in essence to admit that pleasure as such is not the end. Dr. Rashdall points out that "so long as we regard pleasure as our only end, it is impossible to recognise differences in the quality of pleasures, which are not ultimately resolvable into differences of quantity. It is otherwise when we regard Morality as an end in itself, even if we still regard Morality as consisting in nothing but Benevolence, or rather Benevolence guided by Justice." This is what Shelley does. In his *Speculations on Morals*, benevolence and justice are the two constituent parts of virtue. "Benevolence is the desire," he says, "to be the author of good, and justice the apprehension of the manner in which good ought to be done" and they "result from the elementary laws of the human mind." "There is a sentiment in the human mind that regulates bene-

volence in its application as a principle of action. This is the sense of justice. Justice, as well as benevolence, is an elementary law of human nature." Butler in his *Sermons on Human Nature* affirms that benevolence is a principle of human nature.[1]

Shelley in his analysis of utility does classify pleasures as higher and lower. The end therefore, by implication at least, is suggested to be something else than pleasure as such—it is some kind of the good. This good is referred to elsewhere as virtue. Man's duty according to Shelley is the pursuit of virtue.

Pleasure chiefly indicates emphasis on the importance attached to the inner emotional effect in a sentient being of a desirable state of feeling with which man's ultimate end is identified. Virtue lays emphasis on the nature or quality of the mind's activity in which man's welfare is alleged to consist. Here volition is an important factor. It must be admitted, however, that, like the Sophists, Shelley makes seeking of pleasure and avoiding of pain a justification of virtue. Even Socrates does not very clearly distinguish happiness from virtue. In *Philebus*, Plato raises the question whether pleasure is a part of good and though in *Protagoras* pleasure is maintained as the good, the opposite view is taken in *Phædo* and *Gorgias*. In the *Republic* pleasure purged of all sensual elements is again given a high place. Aristotle in a way asserts that to the virtuous person the very performance of virtuous acts is pleasurable but pleasure is not the good. By pleasure Epicurus meant more a tranquil state of mind and body than anything else and this can be achieved best with the aid of a rational attitude towards the world. The Epicureans requisitioned Reason to distinguish between varieties of pleasure, the gratification of appetites being vigorously condemned.

[1] James Mill considers benevolence and justice as important moral agents in producing happiness to mankind, their advantage over prudence and fortitude lying in the fact that they represent acts beneficial to others *in the first instance* and to ourselves in the second. Just acts are performed *voluntarily* under the motive of these two moral ideas.

Shelley's mind acknowledges virtue only as his master and condemns disloyalty to virtue. Because of his devotion to virtue he considers himself to be a devout professor of true religion.[1]

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

[1] *Cf.* Letters of October 10, 1811; of November 14 and 20, 1811; of December, 1811 (to Hogg) and of March 8, 1812.

Reviews

The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar—By Dr. Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti, Kavyatirtha, M.A., Ph.D., Premchand Roychand Scholar, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1930.

It is generally believed even in educated circles that the Science of Philology, like many other sciences, is an invention of modern Europe, though the acquaintance of Europeans with the Sanskrit language made some contribution to its growth and development as is admitted by all. But the fact that India too had independently developed and cultivated a similar science from a very early period—long before the birth of the modern science of Philology was known to some extent only in the narrow circle of Sanskritists. No comprehensive exposition of this science of India as such is known to have been made by any Orientalist. It is true, Colebrooke, Goldstücker and Belvalkar each gave an account of the grammatical studies of India. Bopp, Whitney, Macdonnel and others dealt with the Sanskrit language from the standpoint of the modern science of Philology. But it was reserved for Dr. Chakravarti to present before the world of scholars a systematic and scholarly account of the principles of the science of Philology of the Hindus. The first instalment of the results of his studies entitled *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus* in this direction was published sometime back in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* published by the Calcutta University. Quite deservedly did it commend itself to the notice of scholars. We have now before us the second instalment here in the work under review. Here in nine well-written chapters abounding in profuse quotations from original texts the author gives us the views of a galaxy of Indian thinkers beginning from the Vedic period down to the period of Navya Nyāya on the different aspects of the science of language. The eclectic spirit, the unusual love of minutest details and verbal accuracy, the delight taken in hair-splitting distinctions—the characteristics of Hindu thought—cannot be expected to have the same appeal and attraction for all. But it is sure that general students of Philology will deem it a great privilege to be able to gather the views of the Indians on the subject of their study without having to take the very hard labour of searching the Sanskrit texts for the purpose. The present work will undoubtedly supply them with much food for thinking and will be a valuable acquisition to the already extensive literature on Philology.

Lastly it seems to be quite in the fitness of things that a son of Bengal has been found to place before the world an exposition of Hindu Philology as Bengal, well-known to be the last resort of many a grammatical system, is the place which has produced a vast amount of grammatical literature and literature pertaining to the Philosophy of Grammar in the shape of valuable works on the Śabda Khaṇḍa of Navya Nyaya.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Mysticism in Bhagavat Gita—By Mahendranath Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5/-. Published by Longmans. Green & Co., Ltd., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta.

Prof. Sircar is an author of repute and is held in high esteem by the learned world for his illuminating writings on the Vedānta Philosophy, which have distinctly enriched our knowledge of that abstruse and profound system of thought in modern times. Prof. Sircar, be it noted, is not a mere interpreter of the ancient systems but brings to bear on his studies an independent, critical and constructive philosophic mind and presents them in an altogether new perspective, calculated to throw a flood of light on the ever-green problems of philosophy, which have exercised the philosophic minds of all ages and climes. In the present work, which is the first of its kind so far as our knowledge goes, Prof. Sircar has more than amply vindicated our expectations and our knowledge of the profound mysteries of the Gītā has received a tremendous accession of light. Mysticism has been regarded with an attitude of awe, if not suspicion and its claims in the field of philosophical speculations have been received with a shrug of shoulders, if not contempt. The author of the book under review has done a distinctive service to the cause of philosophy by his unfaltering vindication of the claims of mysticism, both as a method and as an attitude, for the sure and unerring envisagement of the ultimate Truth. "The mystic teaching might not appeal and excel by the niceties of categories, but surely it is an appealing force when it vivifies the intellect and helps to see significant meanings in insignificant things." (p. 18) It was an irony of fate and a lack of philosophic perspective, that were responsible for the presentation of the Gītā to the western world as a full-fledged philosophic system and the result was a grievous underestima-

tion of the philosophic achievements of ancient India. The approach of philosophy to the problems of life is essentially intellectual and ratiocination is the only accredited instrument of philosophic thought. There is philosophy in the Gītā in its abundance, but as the author emphatically points out, "Its philosophy, therefore, is not discursive thinking but involves visions which are to be systematised by mystic insight and intuitive penetration." (p. 21)

The Gītā advocates all the different disciplines, to wit, karman (active service), bhakti (devotion) and jñāna (knowledge and life of philosophy), the exclusive claims of each one of which were advocated with the partizan's zeal by the different schools of thought in ancient India; but it is not for the matter of that "an eclectic attempt anxious to reconcile the claims of the irreconcileable tendencies of the soul." The Gītā has squarely envisaged their claims and has given a graduated hierarchy of values, thereby giving a quietus to the acrimonious wranglings of the warring groups. The Mīmāṁsists and the later theists of the Rāmānuja school cried hoarse over the claims of a life of active philosophy or philosophic activism (jñānakarmasamuccaya) and Śaṅkarācārya in his polemics against these thinkers advocated the efficacy of philosophic illumination as the only road to the realisation of the highest goal, *viz.* salvation. But Sankara has not been chary to recognise the values of activism and devotionalism as propædeutic to philosophic illumination and in this he seems to have interpreted the message of the Gītā in its true spirit. The controversy has reached its apex in the śls. 16-18 of chapter XV. and Prof. Sircar's interpretation seems to give a clincher to the debate once for all. The protestation of Viśvanātha and other theistic interpreters of his ilk, that Puruṣottama is the "Concrete Universal" and as such is the "Highest Principle," have been shown by Prof. Sircar to be based on a false philosophy and a misreading of mystical experience. We quote the illuminating observations of the author, "The abstract is never experienced, though it is presupposed in the concrete spiritual life. As such, the spiritual life in its transcendent uniqueness can be felt when we cross the concrete consciousness." (p. 52) We ask all to read the pages 48-53 and ponder and we have not the least doubt that the reader will be convinced. Again, the author's analysis and exposition of the different disciplines enjoined in the Gītā are not only philosophically convincing, but they bear the stamp and warrant of a personal intuitive vision and they set all doubts at rest and go home direct to the heart. In the section on 'Modern vitalism and Prāṇism', we do not know which to admire most, his scholarship or his penetrative insight. In fact, the pages of the book are replete with

sage observations, which are striking and arresting alike for their philosophical cogency and intuitive realisation which they indicate. Considertions of space deter us from taking excursions into the rich planes of critical insight and philosophic illuminations that have been laid bare in almost all the pages and we do not wish to forestall the reader's judgment. But we cannot help adverting to a few outstanding features before concluding this insufficient review. The author's comparison of the divine man of the Gītā with Neitzsèche's super-man and his illuminating dissertation on that tangled problem of philosophy and religion, *viz.*, the problem of Avatāra, show his originality as a philosopher and the depth and range of his scholarship.

We only wish that the learned author would have discussed some of the knotty problems of the metaphysics of the Gītā, particularly, the nature of the Absolute and the Individual souls and their relation in a fuller and more comprehensive way and the illuminating exposition, that we legitimately expect from Prof. Sircar's pen, would have immensely benefitted a student of Philosophy. Of course the writer's interest and objective in the present work are more on the side of mystical realisation than philosophic ratiocination; but we only press the claims of the students of philosophy on the indulgence of the author and we hope that the author would not forget their claims in his future works and the gratitude of students would be his guerdon.

S.M.

The Adyar Pamphlets: Nos. 133 to 135.—The Theosophical Publishing House of Adyar (Madras) has revived the publication of the popular series of Theosophical pamphlets known as the Adyar Pamphlets, which had been withheld since 1921. We welcome the publication of these Pamphlets, for though we may not agree with all the views expressed therein, there is much in them which is highly instructive and thought-provoking.

The January issue of the Series is pamphlet No. 133, which has been named *Karma Once More*. It is the substance of a lecture delivered by Dr. Annie Besant at Edinburgh, and is really a supplement to the Adyar Pamphlet No. 125 " On Karma." The subject of Karma is so vast and complicated that it is not to be wondered at that many misconceptions

are formed about it, and Dr. Besant has done her best in their pamphlet to remove them. " Nothing perhaps gives rise to more misconceptions " says she, " than the idea that Karma is a kind of command from higher regions, which ought to limit our activity. You so often hear people using phrases which show that they entirely misunderstand the real meaning of Karma, phrases about interfering with Karma, phrases which seem to imply that we are under some sort of subjection to Karma, and ought to obey it, and so on, as though it were a kind of divine law from a lawgiver. All these phrases show a fundamental misconception of what Karma is." (P. 2). Further on, she says that educated people " speak as if interference (with Karma) were in some sense irreverant, as if you were insulting God in some curious way if you counterbalance the action of an uncomfortable pieces of Karma. It is that that I want to get rid of from the whole of your minds. It hinders ; it fetters you. This kind of view of the omnipotence of Karma is working untold event in India where a misconception of it has arisen. It constantly puts the Indian at a disadvantage when he is dealing with the white man who knows nothing about Karma. He (the Indian) does not use exertion to fight where he chooses to assume that Karma is against him ; he simply sits down and allows the law to play over him." (P. 10). Dr. Besant has correctly depicted, in the above words, the usual attitude of the average Indian mind, which stands in the way of his material, moral and spiritual progress. Part wicked Karma gives rise to certain baneful tendencies which should be withstood and counteracted as soon as they are discovered to be baneful. This will go to break the force of our bad Karma to a certain extent. We were the creators of our past Karma, and it is he who can neutralize or nullify its effect by exertions acting from an opposite direction. " Karma becomes a force, like any other natural force, which the stronger may ward off from the weaker, which can be suspended, quickened, retarded like other energies. There is no peculiar sanctity about it that we should yield to it " (pp. 26-27). We recommend a careful study of the pamphlet to those who feel interested in the study of the Laws of Karma.

The February issue of the series is Pamphlet No. 134, named *Krishnamurti's Message* by C. Jinrajadasa, which contains the substance of addresses delivered by him in Australia in March, 1928. This pamphlet will be found interesting by ardent Theosophists, and those who take an interest in the present phases of the Theosophical movement. Krishnamurti is believed by Dr. Besant an advanced Theosophist to be the Great Teacher through whom Lord Maitreya has been sending the Great Message of Liberation for the present and future, which is *for all*. " This Liberation " says

Krishnamurti, " which is for all, will begin with *a vision of the end.*" Even if you are a savage, and not a perfect man, a saint, a scientist or a philosoph er, " it is possible for you, if you will turn in the right direction, to gain a vision of the goal, of the mountain-top, of the kingdom of happiness. He says too, that, even from where you are you can pledge yourself to go directly to the end, not through intermediaries, not through all kinds of devious ways that the world is accustomed to as religion. This direct vision is declared by him as something which is possible even to a child-soul, not only to those whose vehicles have been very carefully and highly developed."

There is one passage in the pamphlet regarding the time when Sri Krishna came to the world, with which we do not agree. Mr. Jinrajadasa says that Sri Krishna came three centuries later than Lord Buddha. This is contrary to the accepted view that Sri Krishna had flourished many centuries before Lord Buddha graced the world. The Mahabharata, in its present form, may have been compiled later than the time of Lord Buddha ; but Sri Krishna's teachings had been in existence long, long before it. The period from the great Kurukshetra War down to the time of Lord Buddha is a dark blank page of Ancient Indian History, which yet remains to be written and illumined by careful investigation. Sri Krishna laid great stress on, and directed the attention of spiritual aspirants to the inner kernel, and not to the outward hard shell of Religion. While deprecating *Yajnas* He did not discard their use altogether. But He insisted on the importance of spiritual culture above all things, through *Karma Yoga, Jnana Yoya,* or *Bhakti Yoga.* These paths, though well defined, were difficult of access to the ordinary people, who preferred to trudge on the ancient path of *Yajnas* and sacrifices, to which they attached undue importance, to the detriment of their spiritual culture and development. It was then that the necessity for the advent of a great Teacher like Lord Buddha arose, who discovered a comparatively easy path for salvation for all. Buddha's teachings uplifted not only the Indian masses, but the masses of other nations as well, and His religion soon became a World Religion. Though it does not exist in its pristine form in the land of its birth, its essence having been completely absorbed by the present-day Hindu religion, it is still a living religion in Burma, Indo-China, China, the Malay Archipelago and Japan, and professed by millions of ardent votaries.

The March issue of the series is Pamphlet No. 135, named *The Work of the Ruler and the Teacher* by Dr. Annie Besant. It is in the nature of a politico-religious pamphlet, and furnishes, as it

were, the *raison d'etre* of Dr. Besant's political and religious activities. We know that non-Theosophists will not be prepared to swallow all her statements and assertions without the proverbial grain of salt; but nevertheless her views are well worth reproducing here. Orthodox Hindus believe in the existence of the great Vaivasaata Manu who has been guiding the destinies of races and nations, with the help of a great Hierarchy of Teachers or Rishis; but we know of no ordinary mortal who has been in direct touch with Him or His Hierarchy, or come face to face with Them. Dr. Besant claims to have known Them, and received from the Great King Himself "the charge to work for the Freedom of India." Says she: "When first the charge to work for the Freedom of India was given to me—in 1909, by the King at Shamballa—(which Dr. Besant says is situated in the midst of the Gobi Desert), it was specially marked by two directions: one was to claim India's place in the Empire; the other was to be firm but not provocative. I have tried during all these twenty-one years to carry out that command. It has been behind the whole of my political work. The steady claim has been carried out and is now verbally accepted, to be worked out, we hope, at the coming London Conference.

"I have tried to avoid provocative action, though even firmness may be regarded in some quarters as provocative. And another Order, saying that I must be careful that triumph was not stained by excess, has been the secret of the whole of my policy through all these years. I want my co-workers now to understand this, because of course it is to continue during the very critical time that lies in front. There is no longer any need not to say that it is the inner government of the world that formulated that policy in the outside world. It was that which led me to oppose Gandhiji, because I knew that the movement that he started would lead to bloodshed as well as to other dangers, as it did. You can very much strengthen the work of the Masters for India's freedom by observing especially during the coming months, those Rules which, though given to myself personally, are also useful to others—a steady claim for India's freedom; a firm but not a provocating attitude, notwithstanding the many excuses that may arise for provocation. Long ago it was said to H. P. B. that one of the purposes of the Theosophical Society was to raise India among the nations of the World. That is the work which is now going on, and it will be the line that is desired by the Lord Vaivasvata Manu, and also by Him whom we call the Regent of India, the great Rishi Agastya, who has had India in His charge

for many thousands of years, and who lives in the South of India, as far as His physical body is concerned." (Page 1 & 2)

The perusal of the above statement provokes certain thoughts in our mind, which we venture to put down in a very reverent spirit. The line of action, dictated to Dr. Besant by Lord Manu, and strictly followed by her without deviation, is the very line that is being pursued by a host of Indians also (both Moderates and Liberals), none of whom has probably the honour of being known to the Great Lord or His Regent of India. But these ardent workers for the freedom of India have, so far, achieved very little, and are gradually giving way to despair. How long is their patience to be tried ? If Dr. Besant knew that Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation would surely lead to bloodshed and end in disaster, did she not feel it to be her supreme duty to dissuade him from moving on the perilous path, and convince him of his error ? Even now when Gandhiji is starting the campaign of civil disobedience all over India, is it not her duty to exert her influence over him and his followers so that there may not be further bloodshed and disaster ? What would it avail to Dr. Besant, if she alone avoided provocative action, and remained firm and steady in her demand for the freedom of India ? Is it not high time for the great Regent of India to make Himself manifest to Gandhiji, as He has been manifesting Himself to Dr. Besant, and dissuade him from pursuing his present course ? Dr. Besant says that the great Regent (Rishi Agastya) has had India in his charge for many thousands of years ? May we ask whether India has progressed or retrograted during these long millenniums ?

Dr. Besant further writes: " One important matter, on which the Rishi has laid great stress, especially since 1913, is Social Reform. That He regards as vital. As India has moved far too slowly in that direction, He has permitted the writing and circulation of what I generally call a political novel, Miss Mayos book *Mother India*. It is a ' novel.' It is not a valid statement of facts with grounds ; but such grounds as it has formed the reason why the Rishi has permitted it to be circulated. If people will not learn by precept by the proclamation of their duty, then the only way is practically to force them into it ; and that is what this wicked book does ". (Pages 2 & 3). To be candid, this appears to us to be a very dubious and indirect way for effecting social reforms. None knows better than the great Rishi Himself that infant marriage was a thing unknown in Vedic times, and no girl was ever given away in marriage unless she was youthful and ready for " healthy child-birth." But this salubrious custom was

discarded in a later age by a number of Hindu Law-givers also known as Rishis who advocated or rather enjoined on the necessity of infant-marriage, and ever since that time this baneful custom has been in vogue. As the Vedas are still regarded by the Hindus as the final authority, people could easily be induced to give up the custom, if the sanction of the marriageable age of girls in the Vedas were made more widely known to them. Those who have faith in the sacred Scriptures long ago gave up the custom. The matter is less difficult with the Moslem community who, we believe, have no such serious religious objection against infant-marriage as the Hindus have. The rest of the pamphlets is a plea for accepting Krishnamurtiji as the Great Teacher of the age which is believed to be synchronous with the advent of a new advanced type of Races in the world, with its beginnings in California.

A. D.

Ourselves

I. E. and B. E. Examinations.

The 21st July, 1930, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the next I. E. and B. E. Examinations.

* * *

Law Examinations Dates.

The following dates have been fixed for the Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law, to be held in July, 1930 :—

Preliminary ...7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th July, 1930.
Intermediate...14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th July, 1930.
Final ...21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th July, 1930.

* * *

Result of the Intermediate Examination in Law, January, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Law, held in January, 1930, was 627 of whom 363 passed, 184 failed and 80 were absent. Of the successful candidates 8 were placed in Class I and 355 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 66·4.

* * *

Result of the Final B. L. Examination, January, 1930.

The number of candidates registereed for the Final B. L. Examination, held in January, 1930,, was 562, of whom 281 passed, 91 failed, and 190 were absent. Of the successful candidates 24 were placed in Class I and 257 placed in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 75·5.

University of Calcutta

Latest Publications

Vaisnava Padavali, edited by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen and Rai Bahadur Khagendranath Mitra. Royal 8vo. pp. 150+30.

Lectures on the Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal, by Sir William Willcocks. Demy 8vo. pp. 128.

Present-Day Banking in India, *Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged* by B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 686+xx.

Kindred Sayings on Buddhism, by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, D.Litt. D/crown 16mo. pp. 108+ix.

Sankhya Conception of Personality, by Mr. A. K. Majumdar, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 158+xvi.

Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. III, Part II, edited by Rai D. C. Sen, Bahadur, D.Litt. Royal 8vo. pp. 544+36.

Calcutta University Calendar for the year 1930. Demy 8vo. pp. 1070.

Descriptive Catalogue of the Old Bengali Manuscripts in the University Library, Vol. III, edited by Manindra-mohan Bose, M.A. Demy 4to. pp. 493-791+x.

BOOKS IN THE PRESS IN JUNE, 1930.

1. Development of Indian Railways, by Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

2. History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, by Prof. M. Winternitz, translated into English by Mrs. S. Ketkar.

3. Siddhanta-Sekhara, edited by Pandit Babua Misra, Jyotishacharyya.

4. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XX.

5. Surya-Siddhanta, edited with notes by Mr. Phanindralal Ganguli, M.A., P.R.S.

6. Dynastic History of Northern India, by Dr. Hemchandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

7. Asoka, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.

8. Studies in Indian History, by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), B.Lit. (Oxon.).

9. Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. IV, Part I, edited with Introduction and Notes by Rai Dineschandra Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.

10. Adwaita-Brahma-Siddhi, Part II, edited by Mahamahopadhyay Gurucharan Tarka-Darshantirtha and Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.

11. Calcutta Mathematical Society Commemoration Volume.

12. Collected Geometrical Papers, Part II, by Prof. Syamadas Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

13. Vedanta—Its place as a System of Metaphysics, by Dr. N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D.

14. Mundari-English Dictionary, by Manindrabhusan Bhaduri.

15. University Question Papers for the year 1929.

16. Manoelda Assampcaos Bengali Grammar, edited by Prof. S. K. Chatterji, D.Lit. (Lond.) and Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.

17. The Pilgrimage of Faith in the World of Modern Thought, by Prof. D. C. Macintosh.

18. Public Administration in India, by Mr. A. K. Ghosh, Barrister-at-Law.

19. Theory of Plane Curves, by Dr. S. M. Ganguli, D.Sc.

20. Some Bengal Villages and Economic Survey, by Mr. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., and L. A. Nateson, M.A.

21. Some Aspects of Buddhist Philosophy, by Prof. G. Tucci.

22. Eastern Bengal Ballads, Vol. IV, Part I, with Introduction and Notes, by Rai D. C. Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.

23. Readership Lectures, by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.

24. Lectures on the Mean Value Theorem of the Differential Calculus, by Prof. Ganesh Prasad, D.Sc.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

I. ANCIENT INDIA

1. CULTURE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

A History of Indian Literature, by M. Winternitz, Ph.D., Professor of Indology and Ethnology at the German University of Prague, translated into English from the Original German by Mrs. S. Ketkar and revised by the Author. *The only Authorised Translation into English.*

Vol. I, Introduction, Veda, National Epics, Puranas and Tantras. Demy 8vo. pp. 653. 1927. Rs. 10-8.

This monumental work of Prof. Winternitz is too well-known to need any introduction to the public. In order to make it accessible to those interested in Indian Literature but not well-versed in German, the Calcutta University has undertaken the publication of an English version. The whole work will occupy several volumes. The second volume is now in the Press.

Some Problems of Indian Literature, by Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D. Royal 8vo. pp. 130. 1925. Rs. 2-8.

Contents: The Age of the Veda—Ascetic Literature in Ancient India—Ancient Indian Ballad Poetry—Indian Literature and World-Literature—Kautilya Arthasastra—Bhasa.

Culture and Kultur Race Origins or the Past Unveiled, by H. Bruce Hannah, Bar.-at-Law. Demy 8vo. pp. 158. 1919. Rs. 3-12.

Besides other cognate matters, the book generally deals with race-origins, race-developments, and race-movements; and differentiates, not only between Barbarous Races and Culture-Races, but also between Barbarous Races that were or are civilised and those that were or are uncivilised.

Chronology of Ancient India (From the Times of the Rig-Vēdic King Divodāsa to Chandragupta Maurya with Glimpses into the Political History of the Period), by Sitanath Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D., Brihaspati. Royal 8vo. pp. 291+30. Rs. 6 (Indian), 11 Shillings (Foreign).

In this extremely interesting and erudite book on the Chronology and Political history of Vedic and Buddhist India, enormous masses of evidence derived from Vedic, Epic, Puranic, Buddhistic, Jain, Epigraphic and other sources have been collected, compared and contrasted. Dr. Pradhan has at last discovered a thread through the bewildering labyrinth of Vedic Chronology and has handled the question of the Nanda-Sisunāga-Pradyota-Bimbisarian Chronology and political history perhaps with the greatest skill and precision. This pioneer work which was completed in 1921 and was submitted to the University of Calcutta as his Doctorate thesis contains entirely new findings in every chapter and the criticisms of the theories of some of the reputed Orientalists make the work exceedingly interesting. It will be of invaluable assistance to all students, professors and lovers of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

The late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee:—' Has thrown unexpected yet welcome light, on the political history of the Pre-Asokan Period,' ' of much excellence,' ' extremely gratifying to note,' ' original research of unquestionable merit,' ' appraised by the investigators of the first rank,' etc., etc.

MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University:—" It is refreshing to find that the writer has not worked entirely on the beaten lines and has not been slow to strike out new lines for himself and examine theories which had hitherto been regarded as almost sacrosanct.

Dr. L. D. Barnett, London, England:—" The book seems to me to be a remarkably able work, and its general conclusions are reasonable and probable, though, naturally, there may be some difference of opinion on some points."

Ancient Indian Numismatics (*Carmichael Lectures, 1921*), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Carmichael Prof. of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. Demy 8vo. pp. 241. Rs. 4-14.

This book contains a course of lectures on Numismatics, a part of Archæology, delivered by the Professor in 1918. The subjects of the lectures are as follows:

I. Importance of the Study of Numismatics.
II. Antiquity of Coinage in India.
III. Karshapana: its Nature and Antiquity.
IV. Science of Coinage in Ancient India.
V. History of Coinage in Ancient India.

Asoka (*Carmichael Lectures, 1923*), by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. Demy 8vo. pp. 364. Rs. 5.

In this book the author has set forth his views about the Buddhist monarch after a careful and systematic study for a quarter of a century not only of the inscriptions of Asoka but also of the valuable translations and notes on these records by distinguished scholars in the field of Ancient History of India. The book consists of eight chapters dealing with the following topics: I. Asoka and his early life, II. Asoka's empire and administration, III. Asoka as a Buddhist, IV. Asoka's Dhamma, V. Asoka as a missionary, VI. Social and Religious life from Asokan monument, VII. Asoka's place in history, VIII. Asoka's inscriptions.

Extract from a letter from M. Senart, the distinguished French Savant—

".....I am grateful to your book because it has brought me a brilliant example of the ingenious and passionate skill with which modern India endeavours to reconstruct its past.....you intended to show by an analysis of the inscriptions what information hitherto unexpected they can yield to a sagacious and penetrating explorer."

The Evolution of Indian Polity, by R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Demy 8vo. pp. 192. 1920. Rs. 6.

Contains a connected history of the growth and development of political institutions in India, compiled mainly from the Hindu Sastras. The author being the famous discoverer and translator of the *Kautilya Arthasastra*, it may be no exaggeration to call him one of the authorities on Indian Polity.

Social Organisation in North-East India, in Buddha's Time, by Richard Fick (translated by Sisirkumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.). Demy 8vo. pp. 390. 1920. Rs. 7-8.

"*Dr. Fick's Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordostlichen Indien Zu Buddhas Zeit* has, for many years, been of invaluable assistance to all interested in the social and administrative history of Buddhist India. But those ignorant of German were unable to make use of that book and their warm gratitude will be extended to Dr. Maitra for his eminently readable translation. The book is too well-known to need any review: suffice to say that the translation is worthy of the book. Now that this scholarly work is made available in English, it should find a larger circulation."

Hindusthan Review, July, 1923.

Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India (*Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Law*), by Nareschandra Sen, M.A., D.L. Demy 8vo. pp. 109. 1914. Rs. 1-8.

In this book the author traces the sources of Ancient Indian Law with reference to the environments in society and deals with matters regarding legal conceptions historically, initiating a sowewhat new method, mainly following the one indicated by Ihering with reference to Roman Law in the study of problems of Hindu Law.

Political History of Ancient India (From the Accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta Dynasty), by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Second Edition, *Revised and Enlarged.* Royal 8vo. pp. 416. 1927. Rs. 7-8.

Dr. Raychaudhuri's work in the domain of Indology is characterised by a rare sobriety and by a constant reference to original sources and this makes his contributions specially valuable. We have here probably the first attempt on scientific lines to outline the political history of India of the Pre-Buddhistic period from about the 10th Century B. C. and the work is one of great importance to Indian history.

Prof. J. Jolly, Wurzburg :—".....What an enormous mass of evidence has been collected and discussed in this work, an important feature of which is the quotation of the original texts along with their translation which makes it easy to control the conclusions arrived at. The ancient geography not less than the ancient history of India has been greatly furthered by your researches and much new light has been thrown on some of the most vexed problems of Indian Archæology and chronology.....".

Prof. F. Otto Schrader :—" I have read the book with increasing interest and do not hesitate to say that it contains a great many details which will be found useful by later historians.....".

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith :—" Full of useful information."

Ancient Romic Chronology, by H. Bruce Hannah, Bar.-at-Law. Royal 8vo. pp. 60. 1920. Rs. 1-8.

The book deals with the method of embodying some original researches of Mr. H. B. Hannah in the domain of Chronology and computation of time in Ancient Egypt, as well as other connected matters, the process being shewn through various internal evidences.

Pre-Historic India, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A. Second Edition, *Revised and Enlarged.* Demy 8vo. pp. 542 (with 53 plates). 1927. Rs. 7.

One of the pioneer works on Indian pre-history by a young Indian scholar, who is well posted in the latest work in this subject.

Contents:—Chap. I.—Races and Cultures in India —Earlier Studies and present outlook. Chap. II.—The Geological Back-

ground; Geographical and Palæo-Geographical features. Chap. III.—The Palæontological Basis—The Human ancestry—The cradle-land—The Siwalik Primates—Fossil men outside India. Chap. IV.—The Earliest Artifacts of Pre-Chellean India (probably more than a lac of years old). Chap. V.—Early Palæolithic Phases—Chellean, Acheullean and Mousterian types. Chap. VI.—Pleistocene cave-life—Karnue. Chap. VII.—Late Palæolithic and Mesolithic cultures—The Capsian Industry stations. Chap. VIII.—Pre-historic cave-art and Rock carvings. Chap. IX.—The Neolithic types in India. Chap. X.—The Neolithic culture-stations. Chap. XI.—Pre-historic Metallurgy. Chap. XII.—Mohen-jo-Daro—A remarkable Discovery of an Eneolithic Site—Harappa and Nal—Sir John Marshall's reports. Chap. XIII.—Pre-historic Copper and Bronze finds from other sites. Chap. XIV.—The Indian Megaliths—Their Builders and Origin. Chap. XV.—The Megalithic Structures—Their architectural features, contents and distribution in India. Chap. XVI.—From extinct to living types—Mammals—The Bayana, Sialkot, Nala, Mohen-jo-Daro and Adichanallur Human remains. Chap. XVII.—Pre-historic potteries and terracottas of India. Chap. XVIII.—Culture—Sequence and Origins.

Economic Condition of Ancient India, by J. N. Samaddar, B.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.E.S., F.R.Hist.S. Demy 8vo. pp. 186. Rs. 3.

A brilliant study, which embodies a reconstruction of economic data and of economic theories in Ancient India from treatises and from scattered references in early Hindu and Buddhist literature. This is the first systematic attempt to deal with this important subject. " The author in course of his six lectures lays bare to us the underlying spirit and principles of the great Hindu Civilisation. He has taught us to look not merely at the actions of the Ancient Indians and their glorious achievements in the domains of Economics and Politics but he has unfolded the environments in which they were wrought, the motives which impelled them and the ambition which inspired them."

The book has been highly praised by *Dr. Sylvain Lévi, Dr. Jolly, Prof. Winternitz, Sir John Bucknil, Dr. A. Marshall, Prof. Hopkins, Prof. Telang, Dr. Keith* and many other distinguished savants.

Some Contribution of South India to Indian Culture (*Readership Lectures in the Calcutta University*, 1919), by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History and Archæology in the University of Madras. Demy 8vo. pp. 468. 1923. Rs. 6.

Extract from Indian Antiquary, Vol. LIII, for January-February, 1924:—

" *Sir Richard Temple* writes : '.....They (the Lectures) are so full of valuable suggestions that it is worthwhile to consider here the results of

the study of a ripe scholar in matters South Indian.....To myself, the book is a fascinating one and it cannot but be of the greatest value to the students, for whom the lectures were intended.'....."

Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, by Dr. B. R. Chatterji, D.Litt. (Punjab), Ph.D. (London). Demy 8vo. pp. 303. Rs. 6.

A resumé of the history of the Ancient Indian colony of Cambodia and its culture, compiled from French sources, presenting a clear and systematised narrative the results of researches into the antiquities of one of the most important lands of Greater India.

2. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Comparative Religion (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures delivered in the Calcutta University in 1923;* published in July, 1925), by Prof. A. A. Macdonell, M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (Leipzig), D.Litt. (Edin.), D.O.L. (Calcutta). Royal 8vo. pp. 194. 1925. Rs. 3.

The work is the first course of lectures on Comparative Religion delivered under the auspices of the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh foundation. The author has given a survey, in eight lectures, of all the important religions of antiquity, including an introductory one on 'Primitive Religion.' They embrace Confucianism, Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism (including Buddhism), Greek religion, Judaism, Muhammadanism and Christianity. These religions are treated objectively, not from the point of view of any particular one. It has been shown what they have in common, and to what extent each approaches universality, to the outlook of a world religion.

Newness of Life (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures on Comparative Religion for 1925*), by Maurice A. Canney, M.A., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. Royal 8vo. pp. 180. Rs. 3

Contents: I—Disposal of the Dead; II—Ideas about Death; III—Birth and Creation; IV—Givers of Life; V—Men and Gods; VI—The Idea of Holiness; VII—Religious Experience; VIII—Life More Abundant.

Indian Ideals in Education, Philosophy and Religion and Art (*First Series of Kamala Lectures*), by Annie Besant, D.L., with a Foreword by the Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves, Kt. Demy 8vo. pp. 135. 1925. Rs. 1-8.

The lectures were delivered in the Calcutta University I Dr. Annie Besant under the auspices of the Kamala Lectureshi established in memory of his beloved daughter by the late S Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I. The author deals with Indi Education, Indian Philosophy and Religion and Indian Art course of her three lectures.

The Rights and Duties of the Indian Citizen (*Secor Series of Kamala Lectures*), by the Rt. Hon'ble M Srinivasa Sastri, P.C. Demy 8vo. pp. 126. 192' Rs. 1-8.

Philosophical Discipline (*Third Series of Kamala Lectures* by Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Lit Demy 8vo. pp. 179. Rs. 1-8

System of Buddhistic Thought, by Rev. S. Yamakam Royal 8vo. pp. 372. 1912. Rs. 15-0.

The book presents in a comprehensive though short form complete view of Buddhistic Philosophy, both of the Mahayan and Hinayana Schools.

Contents:—Chapter I—*Introduction.* Essential principl of Buddhist Philosophy. All is impermanence—There is no E —*Nirvana* is the only calm.

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Chapter VI—*Alaya-Phenomenology* (the Theory of the V nanavadins)—The classification of things—The four stages of tl cognitive operation of consciousness—Further discussion of tl Eight Vijnanas.

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Chapter IX—*The Avatansaka School*—The Theory of the *Dharmaloka-Phenomenology.*

Chapter X—*Conclusion*—God in us and we in God—The Buddhist idea of Faith—The Buddhistic Ethics.

Appendix—The six kinds of Causes and the five kinds of Effects.

Edward J. Thomas, University Library, Cambridge :.....I shall find the work most useful. The book seems to me very valuable in connected view of the different Schools of Buddhistic thought, and of special importance for European Scholars both in supplying information not easily accessible in the West, and also in treating the whole subject from an independent standpoint.....

I think the book reflects honour not only on the author but also on the devotion to scholarship shown by the Calcutta University.

Prolegomena to a History of Buddhistic Philosophy, by B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (Lond.). Royal 8vo. pp. 52. Rs. 1-8.

The book embodies the results of a scientific enquiry by the author, from the historical standpoint, into successive stages in the genesis and increasing organic complexity of a system of thought in India, supposed to have evolved out of a nucleus as afforded by the discourses of Gautama, the Buddha.

The Original and Developed Doctrines of Indian Buddhism, by Ryukan Kimura. Sup. Royal 8vo. pp. 82. Rs. 3.

It is a comprehensive manual of charts, giving an explicit idea of the Buddhist doctrines, as promulgated in diverse ways by diverse Buddhist Philosophers.

The History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, by B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (Lond.). Royal 8vo. pp. 468. 1921. Rs. 10-8.

The book gives a clear exposition of the origin and growth of Indian Philosophy from the Vedas to the Buddha, and seeks to establish order out of chaos—to systematise the teachings of the various pre-Buddhistic sages and seers, scattered in Vedic literature (Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads) and in the works of the Jainas, the Ajivikas and the Buddhists

Hinayana and Mahayana and the Origin of Mahayana Buddhism, by R. Kimura, Lecturer in the Depts. of Pali and Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. Royal 8vo. pp. 223. 1927. Rs. 2-4.

In the introductory note the author raises a preliminary historical discussion on the terms 'Hinayāna' and 'Mahāyāna' and has also aimed at clearing the ideas and associations of other

significant dual terms used in the Buddhist literature. Th main book is divided into two parts. The first part is mainly de voted to a full discussion of the significance and origin of th terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna. In the second part the autho has discussed the different application of the terms in the tw periods of the making of Mahāyāna Buddhism and o Mahāyāna teachers.

Early History of the Vaishnava Sect, by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 158 Rs. 2-13.

The book contains materials for a connected history o Vaishnavism from the Vedic times to the age of the early Tami Acaryas who laid the foundation of Sri Vaishnava School. Th author takes into consideration only works of proved antiquity and epigraphical records. His method of treatment is strictly scientific, and he comes to a number of interesting conclusions among which is the establishment of the historic personality o Vasudeva-Krishna and the determination of the doctrines of th old Bhagavata sect.

"The lectures of Mr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri on the Early Histor of the Vaishnava Sect read almost as would a Bampton lecture on the 'His torical Christ' to a Christian audience. They are an attempt to disentangl the authentic figure of Krishna from the mass of Puranic legend and gros tradition, from the wild conjectures and mistaken, if reasoned, theories whic surround his name. The worship of Krishna is not a superstitious idolatry it is the expression of the Bhakti, the devotional faith of an intellectua people, and many missionaries, ill-equipped for dealing with a dimly unde stood creed would do well to study this little volume....."—The Times Lite rary Supplement, May 12, 1921.

A History of Indian Logic (Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Schools), by Mahamahopadhyay Satischandra Vidya bhushan, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.A.S.B., lat Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and Joint Philolo gical Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal. With Foreword by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Demy 8vo. pp 696. 1921. Rs. 15.

A monumental work. Dr. Vidyabhushan has given here detailed account of the system of Nyaya, and has left no source of information, whether Brahmanical, or Buddhist (Indian and Tibetan), or Jaina, untapped. The history is brought down from the days of the Vedas to the 19th century, and is full of facts well disposed and lucidly set forth.

The author did not live to see the publication of a work which is sure to make his name immortal in the annals of In dology.

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt., University of Edinburgh writes:—

The work reflects the highest credit on its late author. It contains vast mass of carefully verified information lucidly arranged and expounde and it is invaluable to every serious student of Indian Logic. It must for

very long period form an indispensable source of material for workers in the field of Indian Philosophy, and whatever difference there may be with the views of the author whether in principle or in detail, they cannot possibly obscure the permanent value of a work which—as any one familiar with Indian logic knows only too well—must have involved almost endless labour. The University of Calcutta is to be congratulated on the fact that it was found possible to produce the book despite the author's death before its completion, and the thanks of scholars are due to it for the production of the work in such effective and enduring form.

A Short History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic (*Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Calcutta University, 1907*), by the same author. Royal 8vo. pp. 210. 1909. Rs. 7-8.

The two principal systems of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic, *viz.*, the Jaina Logic and the Buddhist Logic, have been thoroughly expounded here by bringing together a mass of information derived from several rare Jaina Manuscripts and Tibetan xylographs hitherto inaccessible to many. In the appendices a short and general history of the University of Nalanda and the Royal University of Vikramsila has also been given.

3. ANCIENT INDIAN TEXTS

Rigveda Hymns (with the commentary of Sayana). Demy 8vo. pp. 136. Rs. 2-13.

Manu Smriti, edited by Mahamahopadhyay Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University.

The work is an English translation of the commentary of Medhatithi on the Institutes of Manu. The two editions, that had already been published, *viz.*, one by V. N. Mandlik and the other by G. R. Gharpure, being considered avowedly defective on account of a hopeless muddling of the text, Dr. Jha collected manuscripts from various places; and, with the help of these MSS., made out an intelligible text, and then proceeded with the work of translation.

Vol. I, Part I—Comprising Discourse I and 28 verses of Discourse II. Royal 8vo. pp. 266. Rs. 6.

Vol. I, Part II—Comprising verses XXIX to end of Discourse II. Royal 8vo. pp. 290. 1921. Rs. 6.

Vol. II, Part I—Comprising the whole of Discourse III. Royal 8vo. pp. 304. 1921. Rs. 6.

Vol. II, Part II—Comprising Discourse IV. Royal 8vo. pp. 208. Rs. 6.

Index to Vols. I and II. Royal 8vo. pp. 148. Rs. 1-8.

Vol. III, Part I—Comprising Discourses V and VI. Royal 8vo. pp. 278. 1922. Rs. 6.

Vol. III, Part II—Comprising Discourse VII and the Index to the whole of Vol. III. Royal 8vo. pp. 206. 1924. Rs. 7.

Vol. IV, Part I—Comprising a portion of Discourse VIII. Royal 8vo. pp. 252. 1925. Rs. 8.

Vol. IV, Part II—Comprising Discourse VIII and Index to Vol. IV. Royal 8vo. pp. 238. Rs. 7-8.

Vol. V—Comprising Discourses IX to XII. Royal 8vo. pp. 709. 1926. Rs. 12-8.

Manu Smriti, Notes, Part I—*Textual*—By the same author. Royal 8vo. pp. 569. 1925. Rs. 12.

Do. Part II—*Explanatory*—By the same author. Royal 8vo. pp. 870. 1925. Rs. 15

Do. Part III—*Comparative*—By the same author. Royal 8vo. pp. 937. Rs. 15.

Whole set (*including Notes*). Rs. 50.

Besides printing the five volumes of Manu Smriti comprising translation of Medhatithi, it was decided to print separate volumes comprising *Notes* by the same author. The notes have been divided into three parts: Part I—*Textual*—dealing with the readings of the texts and allied matters; Part II—*Explanatory*—containing an account of the various explanations of Manu's text, provided not only by its several commentators, but also by the more important of the legal digests, such as the Mitakshara, the Mayukha, and the rest; Part III—*Comparative*—setting forth what the other Smritis—Apastamba, Bodhayana, etc., have got to say on every one of the more important topics dealt with by Manu.

Inscriptions of Asoka, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and S. N. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Asst. Professor of Indian History, Calcutta University. Crown 8vo. pp. 104. 1920. Rs. 4-4.

The various texts of the rock, pillar, cave and other inscriptions are given in parallel lines to enable the student to compare the different readings at a glance.

Barhut Inscriptions, edited and translated with critical notes by B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), and Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A. Crown. pp. 139. 1926. Rs. 3.

E. J. Thomas, Under-Librarian, Cambridge University Library :—" I find the book an extremely useful one, both because it makes accessible an important collection of inscriptions, and also for the great amount of learning and research which the authors have embodied in it.

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L. D. Barnett :—" The book shews great learning and industry, and will certainly be useful to students."

Old Brahmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, by Prof. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Lit. Royal 8vo. pp. 324. Rs. 7-8.

A critical edition of fourteen ancient Brāhmī inscriptions and a table of Brāmī alphabet, the inscriptions including the well-known Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela. A comprehensive work which contains exhaustive references to all previous publications on the subject, and is calculated to create a real landmark for the new readings, and especially for the notes dealing with the personal history of Khāravela of Orissa, his place in history, and his imperishable works of art and architevture in the rough-hewn Orissan caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills.

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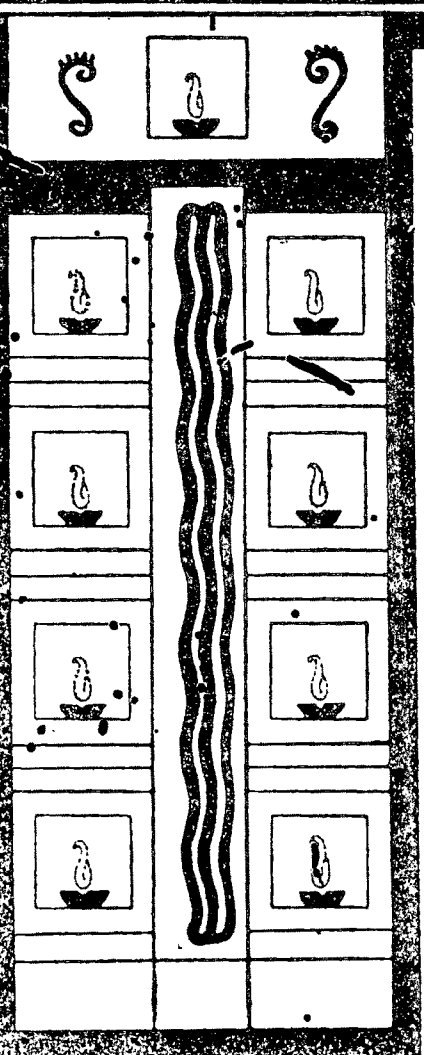

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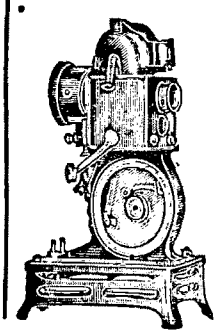

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28. Nehru Committee's Report (A Critical Study)—Akshaykumar Ghoshal.
29. True Ideal of a University—Dr. Abhaykumar Guha, M.A., Ph.D.

30. Plato and Plotinus on God—Dr. Abhaykumar Guha, M.A., Ph.D.
31. Old and Mediaeval Bengali Literature—Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.
32. Convocation Address of the University of Mysore—C. R. Reddy, M.A.
33. Address to All-Bengal Students' Conference—Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D. Litt.
34. Concept of Law—Haricharan Biswas.
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36. The East in English Literatnre—Jayantakumar Dasgupta.
37. The Absolute Self—Wendell Thomas, B.S., M.A., S.T.M.
38. Convocation Address of the Andhra University—Prof. C. V. Raman, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
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41. Raja Rammohan Ray—Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose, C.I.E., I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S..
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50. The Annual Convocation—the Vice-Chancellor.
51. His Excellency's Speech at the Calcutta University Convocation.

52. Early Phases of the History of Independence as it Developed in the British Colonies of North America—Elizabeth S. Kite, Washington.
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Need of a School of Foreign Languages in Connection with Calcutta University—Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., Munich.

70. The Republic of China—'China Critic'
71. The Religion of Harmony—Debendranath Sen.
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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CONTENTS

	Page.
The Social Atmosphere of Present Jainism—Dr. Charlotte Krause, Ph.D., Privat docent, Leipzig University ...	275
The Doctrine of the Concrete Universal—Sarojkumar Das, M.A., Ph.D.	287
Thoughts on Progress—Prof. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Lit.	303
The Making of a Nation—G. S. Krishnayya, M.A., Ph.D.	311
History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company—Parimal Ray, M.A. (London) ...	321
Autumn Song (*Poem*)—F. V. W.	325
Indian Nationalism and Bolshevism—Tāraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D..	326
To Daisy (*Poem*)—Cyril Modak	329
The Future Outlook of the Indian Joint Stock Banks—B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A.	330
Ancient Hindu Tradition and the Present Age of the Earth—D. Bhattacharyya	340
The Cydnus (*Poem*)—F. V. W.	348
Poems of India—Lily S. Anderson	349
Introduction to the Study of Indian Currency—A. K. Sarkar, M.A.	351
King Lear—Katharine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D., Aberdeen	356
Ave Post Secula (*Poem*)—Marion Isabel Angus ...	369

Page.

Nepal's Relations with the Outer World—Jayantakumar Dasgupta, M.A. 370

Robert Bridges—Prof. Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A. ... 389

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A. (Oxon), B.C.L., Bar.-at-Law 418

REVIEWS :

A History of Indian Taxation—P. Basu 422

Report and Proceedings of the World Economic Conference—B. Ramchandra Rau 425

Srimadbhagavadgita—R. S. T. 427

OURSELVES :

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee: Sixth Anniversary 429

Professor C. V. Raman 432

Mahendranath Prize and Medal for 1932 432

Stipends and Scholarships for Indian Students 433

Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar 434

Professor Ukil's Address in Munich 434

Mr. Gokuldas De 435

Report of the D. P. H. Examination, Part I 435

Recognition of a Researcher's Merit 436

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1930

THE SOCIAL ATMOSPHERE OF PRESENT JAINISM

Jainism is one of the oldest religions of India, older than Buddhism, and older perhaps than even the oldest systems of Hindu philosophy: Though according to present opinions, it never attained the power and extension of Buddhism, nor spread beyond the boundaries of India, still it *acted once a prominent part* in Indian religious life: counting, at a time, kings and nobles amongst its followers, and enforcing the influence of its humanitarian principles on other religious and philosophical systems. During the last centuries, however, *it has lost a great deal of its power*, and at present, the number of its actual followers, decreasing from census to census, has come to a minimum standard of eleven lakhs (1,100,000) at last.

It would be unjustified, however, to infer from this fact that the Jaina religion itself is declining in proportion to this development, and ceasing to exercise its influence on the spiritual life of India. As a matter of fact, *Jainism is not confined to those people who are Jainas officially, i.e.*, Jainas by birth and tradition, but Jainism is indeed far wider spread over the country than the census reports tell, and its tenets are clung to by far more people than the outsider could possibly guess. For Jainism has constantly been, and is still being, carried from place to place, by highly learned, refined and enthusiastic Jaina ascetics, who have always known how to attract not only the broader masses, but especially educated people all over the country, and to arouse, even amongst the heterodox of them,

liking and esteem, if not enthusiasm, for the religion they profess themselves. Thus there are many persons, and I know a number of them personally, who, though never thinking in the least of giving up the Hindu, Parsee, or Musalman creed they profess by birth, tradition and ritual, could still be called convinced Jainas, regarding their view on life and their ethical ideals. Nay, there are even numbers of heterodox people who though sticking to their old creeds, still regularly visit Jaina temples, worship Jaina idols, and even perform various ascetical and other Jaina observances as ardently as only good Jainas could do. I may be allowed to quote, as an illustration of the latter fact, the example of H. H. the present Maharana of Udaipur and his heir-apparent, who, though orthodox Hindus, are known to worship the Jina idol in the famous Temple of Kesaria Nath (near Udaipur) in all publicity. And there are quite a considerable number of princes who could justly be styled protectors and devotees of Jain ascetics, in whose sermons they take delight, and on whose instigation they have even issued decrees in order to promote the protection of animal life, etc., in the sense of Jainism.

Now one should think that there cannot be such a large step from admiring Jainism and living up to its ethical standard, or in a word, from being a Jaina by conviction,—to being a Jaina by birth and tradition. Nor is indeed the gap between the two states such a wide one in the light of the situation as it represents itself in the peaceful *South of India*, amongst those calm-hearted intelligent *Dravidian Jainas*, who have preserved, in a state of rare purity, an old form of Digambar Jainism, one of the two chief confessions into which Jainism is divided. All their knowledge and all their observances are based on oral tradition, handed down from father to son, and from mother to daughter, without clerical interference. To them, Jainism is indeed nothing but a moral standard, and the key to the ideal view on life. It is therefore a powerful bondage connecting all the Digambar Jainas of the

South (and there are no other Jainas in the South, except late immigrants) indissolubly with one another, as though they were members of one and the same lodge of freemasonry. Whether their mother-tongue be Tamil, or Kanarese, or Malayalam, or Telugu; and whether their respective caste be a high one or a low one: all the autochthonous Jainas of those parts are one great community, in which subsectarian and sectarian differences are unknown, and in which there exists an unexceptional mutual messmateship and complete freedom of intermarriage. To those pure-hearted and pious people, every Jaina is indeed a brother and friend, no matter if he be a born Jaina or not.

In north and central India, however, where both the great confessions, Digambars as well as Svetambars, are represented with their various sub-sects, and where there exists a regular system of Jaina schools and other educational institutions as well as a vivid Jaina propaganda, exercised both by laymen and by ascetics, the situation is quite a different one. Here, the title "Jaina" implies not only the obligation of undergoing the most rigid ascetical and other practices and minute observances, but it also involves that the individual bearing the title is being entangled, from his very birth, in a net of *caste and sub-caste regulations*, which are exercising their influence on the individual's whole household and personal affairs, during his whole lifetime.

The reader must be wondering what religion can possibly have to do with caste regulations, all the more since the Jaina religion itself is known to plead for universal love and tolerance, and to recommend a close and indiscriminate alliance especially of all "Svamibhais," *i.e.*, "Brothers in the Lord," to whatever caste or profession they may belong, just as the one existing amongst the Southern Digambar Jainas. Still, the miracle-working hand of history has succeeded in bringing about that incredible and apparently inextricable combination of the two heterogeneous elements, caste and religion, in the case of the Northern Jainas.

The present representatives of Northern Jainism belong practically all to one or another of the *Baniya castes*, which form the bulk of the Vaishya or commercial group of Indo-Aryan society. Like the castes of the Brahman or priestly, and those of the Kshatriya or warriors' groups of Indian society, those Baniya castes too are very ancient institutions, of some of which we hear at as early a date as the sixth century A.D., and even earlier. All of them, the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Baniya castes of Northern and Central India go back, in the last instance, to *local communities*, bound to certain places of Marwar and Gujarat, the influence of the names of which is, in many cases, still visible in the names of the castes themselves. Thus, the present Modh Brahmans and Modh Baniyas go back to the town Modhera, the Nagar Brahmans and Nagar Baniyas to the place Vadnagar, the Osval Baniyas to the place Osia near Jodhpur, the Shreemals to a place named Bhinmal (likewise near Jodhpur), etc., etc. Most of those *Brahmans* of old who had originally been Jainas gave up their religion under the influence of Sankaracarya and his school. Thus, the Brahman castes have no practical importance in the later history of Jainism. The *Kshatriya Jains*, however, gradually gave up their old profession in favour of the more peaceful, and, in the sense of Jainism, less harmful pursuits of trade, and were soon completely absorbed by the old Baniya castes. We know for certain that, *e.g.*, the present Osval, Shrimal, and Porval castes partly consist of descendants of the Chohan, Rathod, Chavada, Solanki, and other famous Rajput clans, the names of which still appear in some of the *gotra*, *i.e.*, family names of modern Baniya Jainas.

Thus, it is the *Baniya castes alone that have been representing Jainism in India for many centuries.* Not only this much, but the greater part of them were even *pure Jain castes originally*, as is known for certain with reference to the Osval, Shrimal, Porval, Vayad, Disaval, Nagar, Modh, and other Baniyas. Of the rest of the "84 Baniya castes" of which tradition knows, this much is certain that all of them contained

a greater or smaller number of followers of Jainism, many of whom have handed down their names on inscriptions of Jina statues and temples erected on their behalf. It was only since the 16th and 17th centuries that, owing to the decline of the Jain clergy and to the rise and zeal of the Vishnuitic Vallabhacarya sect that many members of the old Jain Baniya castes gave up their inherited religion and "*bound the Kanthi* (*i.e.*, the necklace of Tulsi beads, symbolical of Vaishnavism)," or, in other words, became Vaishnavas in great numbers. Late Jain Acarya Buddhisagara says in the introduction to his "Jain Dhatupratima Lekh Sangraha," I, p. 18, that he heard a Vaishnava Pandit boast in a public assembly in Surat that the Vallabhacarya sect had converted three hundred thousands of Jainas to Vaishnavism, and the author adds that this may very well be true.

Now the old Jain castes, whose members had to live, from the very beginning, in the middle of a heterodox and, in their eyes, ritually impure and barbarous majority, very early developed, independently of one another, a number of *strict regulations concerning messmateship and intermarriage*. And when the main castes again split asunder, and various *sub-castes sprang into life*, such as the Shri-shrimal, Visa-shrimal, Dasa-shrimal and Laduva-shrimal, or the Visa-osval, Dasa-osval, Panca-osval, and Adhia-osval, etc., castes, those restrictions and regulations multiplied in the same measure. These sub-castes, in their turn, became divided into *as many different branches as there were places, chiefly in Gujarat, Kathiawad and Marwar, where colonies of Baniyas had settled* later on, up to a certain date.

And these sub-sub-castes again kept each strictly to their own regulations of messmateship and intermarriage. In many cases, moreover, the caste did not form a uniform religious community, but was *divided into different sects and sub-sects*. Thus, a Jain Baniya caste may not only be divided into the two main confessions of Shetambars and Digambars, but there may be again idol-worshipping Shetambars, non-idolatrous Sthanakvasi

Svetambars, and followers of the still more rigorously Calvinistic Terapanthi Svetambar sect, and there are, on the other hand, again Vispanthi Digambars and Terapanthi Digambars, each group refusing (with exceptions) to keep up messmateship and intermarriage with the rest.

Thus it came to pass that *the groups within which messmateship and intermarriage were allowed, became smaller and smaller*, and that even in such an enormous caste as, *e.g.*, the Shrimalis are, it has become a difficult problem for the head of a family to find out brides for all the marriageable young men. For in many places of Gujarat and Kathiawar, it would even now-a-days be considered quite an unheard of case and liable to outcasting, if, *e.g.*, a Visa-shrimal Svetambar Idolator would give his daughter in marriage to a Visa-Shrimal Svetambar Sthanakvasi even of the very same place; and if a Dasa-osval Svetambar Idolator of Veraval would marry his daughter to a Dasa-osval Svetambar Idolator of Vala, it would be considered just as heavy a crime.

Owing to the strictness of the prohibition of widow-remarriages on one, and the frequency of even old widowers' remarriages on the other side, owing to the great mortality of Indian women as a consequence of improper hygienic conditions in child-bed and of too early marriages, owing to the prohibition of marriages within certain distantly related clans, and many other reasons, there has always been a scarcity of marriageable women in India, which again resulted in such objectionable customs as the selling of brides for high prices. It was in order to prevent marriageable girls to be given away outside the respective communities, and in order to secure brides for poor and uneducated fellow-citizens for whom it has always been difficult to secure brides, that those circles of caste restrictions were drawn narrower and narrower. It is typical that these restrictions refer only to the giving away of brides, whereas there is complete liberty as to bringing brides home from outside;—provided they belong to the same chief caste.

Many of the ancient Jaina castes had moreover been decimated by those conversions to Vaishnavism alluded to above. Messmateship and intermarriages between the now heterodox parts of one and the same caste were in most cases soon stopped, owing to the pressure exercised by the renegades, who tried to force the rest of the caste by this kind of boycott to become Vaishnavas likewise. Wherever there was a Vaishnava majority and a Jaina minority, the latter had to give way, *i.e.*, they had to give up their faith in order to get wives for their sons or for themselves, no matter how firm their innermost convictions as to their old creed might be. Old men in grey hair have indeed been seen weeping at the feet of Jain monks, confessing with utter grief how it came that decades ago they had been *forced to give up the still beloved faith of their fathers for practical reasons*, and how much grieved they were at seeing their children growing up in the atmosphere of the new faith.

Thus it could happen that, within the last hundred years, many castes which had been pure Jaina castes before, have lost the claim to this title, the small rest of Jainas amongst their members dwindling quickly away, as it is the case with the *Modh*, *Maniyar* and *Bhavsar Baniyas*. Only a few years hence the last Jainas of the *Vadnagar Nagar Baniyas* have adopted Vaishnavism definitely, because the isolated, small, but enthusiastic flock could not, in their social needs, prevail upon the Visa-shrimali Jainas to receive them into their midst, and to allow them to join their messmateship and marriage-circle. The narrow-mindedness of their "Brothers-in-the-Lord" drove them straight into the arms of Vaishnavism. Thus the report of Jaina Acarya Buddhisagara (I, I. p. 11 f.).

In the same way, the *Lingāyat* of the Deccan and the *Sarāka* of Bengal, both of them pure Jaina castes at a time, do not count even a single Jaina amongst their members at present.

Thus, the unreasonable caste and sectarian organization of the Jainas of North and Central India is indeed responsible for

the greater part of the numerous cases of apostasy amongst the Jainas which happened in the last decades.

There are *other reasons too*, such as the want of proper schools, where people could be taught to understand the inner reason and sense of those long prayers, hymns, etc., they mechanically recite, and of the various rites they daily perform without knowing why and where they could learn to connect the rigorous ascetical and other practices they have to undergo, with their beautiful philosophical justifications. The wealthy Jain Seth, enthusiastic over his beloved religion, does spend Lakhs of rupees for religious purposes, such as pilgrimages, processions, Pooja-ceremonies, etc. The famous pilgrimage of about four thousand Jain laymen and four hundred ascetics, who went from Patan to Girnar some years ago, had been undertaken and patronized by a well-known merchant prince of Gujarat: it had cost no less than about twelve Lakhs (1,200,000) of rupees. Many of them do spend money in this way out of the purest motifs; still they have not yet learned to spend it for education, the very basis of all religion and culture, being over-anxious to see their sons and grand-sons earning money and becoming settled in life as early as possible.

That many noble Jaina families gave up their faith in consideration of the heterodox belief of a royal master to whom they were attached by service and tradition, and from whose more intimate company their caste restrictions cut them off, is also a well-known fact, illustrated by the example of the ancient minister families of the states Udaipur, Jodhpur, etc., whose ancestors, convinced and faithful Jainas, once acted a great part in the history of their countries.

Many of those discontented and disheartened Jainas who did not find the courage boldly to face those caste regulations, and who, on the other hand, did not desire to join the Vaishnava faith, ran into the open arms of the *Arya Samaj*, that institution of reasonably reformed and liberal-minded Hinduism which pays so much attention to education and which plays such an

important part in the India of to-day. Many of those poor renegades may well have remained good Jainas in their heart of hearts, or even Jainas by conduct and observances: still what can the census report possibly know of them when stating the number of actual official Jainas? And what does the Jaina community care for it who are bewildered at seeing the number of their followers dwindling away from year to year?

They have much pondered over the problem and have been trying many remedies, but in vain, for nobody has as yet dared even to look with an unfriendly eye on the sacred institution of the castes and their strange laws, which seem as unfit as possible for the century of general awakening and of a reasonable economy of powers.

Well, what have they been devising after all? There are *two distinct parties* with distinct views and suggestions. One of them is the *conservative party*, who, ignoring the actual reasons of the evil, are inclined to derive every damage from the tendency towards abandoning old views and old customs, and from the increasing influenes of Western education with its revolutionary conceptions and theories. They recommend, as the only remedy, to cling in all rigidity not only to the general customs and views of old, but even to such ancient regulations as their ancestors once had to introduce in order to redress the needs of their own time, however out of place they may be in the present age. Thus they forbid every closer connection and collaboration with heterodox people, forbid travelling to Europe, forbid the sacred writings to be studied by laymen and disapprove of any education based on Western lines. Narrow-mindedness and an unreasonable conservatism can be said to be the chief characteristics of this party. Its spirit, though in a moderate form, can be said to dominate as yet with the majority. Still, this party has begun to lose ground, and it will soon enough cease to be taken in full earnest.

The other party denotes itself as the *reform party*. Having recognized with a clear eye the true causes of the rapid decline

of Jainism, but still not daring to do anything openly and directly against the caste system, they have adopted an indirect way of fighting it; namely they eagerly propagate education on broad and modern lines, encourage and deepen the knowledge of the Sacred Writings, popularize Jain literature not only in India, but even in the West, show how to separate the true essence of the Jaina Religion from the profusion of traditional observances and conventions, by which its true nature is being concealed, improve the social position of women, propagate tolerance and sympathy everywhere, and last but not least try to create unity within the camp of Jaina sectarianism itself. The measures taken are no doubt useful ones, for with the progress of education, the conviction of the necessity of openly doing away with those caste regulations must arise in a daily increasing number of individuals. And on the other hand a closer union and collaboration amongst the different sects must needs create a more vivid feeling of responsibility, and strengthen the fighting lines.

At present, it is true, this aim is still far from being reached, the two chief confessions, the Svetambars and the Digambars being still engaged in furious *mutual quarrels* about the possession of certain places of pilgrimage, such as Antariksha (near Akola), Pavapūri Rajagrihi, and Sametsikhar (all three near Patna), Kesariaji (near Udaipur), Mallsi (near Ujain), and others, and millions have been spent and are being spent in those fruitless strifes. And on the other hand, the Idolatrous sect of the Svetambars, and the two Non-idolatrous Svetambar sects, *viz.*, the Sthanakvasis and Terapanthis, are still violently fighting each other about insignificant dogmatic discrepancies, whereas the Diagambar party too has its own internal troubles. Within the aforesaid sects, there are again sub-sects, parties and schools of opinions, which cannot keep peace with one another, but often enough cross each others' schemes, the one spoiling what positive work the other may have achieved. So there can be no doubt that by stopping all these fruitless strifes many

powers would become free to engage in the necessary work of caste reform and general uplift.

That reformatory work of this kind can hope to succeed even in present India, is shown by *the example of the Jainas of the Punjab*, who are heard to have formed, some years ago, one single great circle of common messmateship and intermarriage, and who are now collectively known as *Bhāvadā*, which name is likely to abolish the few caste distinctions which still survive. Examples of great circles in which at least the sub-caste is ignored in the case of marriages, are the *Marwari and Baboo Jainas* of Eastern Rajputana, the United Provinces, and Bengal, all of whom form a unity, and the Jainas of the Deccan on the other side, who are at least partly united. Both are cases, it is true, in which small numbers of Jainas are spread over vast areas. Still they show what is possible where there is good will and tolerance.

There are also instances of such Jain communities in Gujarat in which certain messmateship and intermarriage circles comprise even members of different chief castes, as is the case with the intermarriages between member of the Dasa-porval, Dasa-shrimal, and Dasa-osval castes of *Patan*. This is, however, not due to progress nor reform, but it is the outcome of a time-honoured local usage.

On the other hand, there are some such circles in Gujarat and Kathiawad, as comprise heterodox members of one and the same caste, as the result of which *intermarriages between Jainas and Vaishnavas* occur. Still instances are relatively rare.

Leaving aside those few exceptions, as well as the ideal unity existing in the great brotherhood of the Southern Digambar Jainas, *the social atmosphere of present Jainism is a very unwholesome one, with its regrettable tendency of sacrificing religious ideals to material advantages, and the incomprehensible want of courage on the part of the less prejudiced amongst its followers*. For the future of Jainism, it seems to admit of prospects little short of distressing.

One asks oneself with utter concern whether the time will ever come, when, as they all hope and wish, the powerful old Religion of the Tirthankaras, freed from the suffocating influence of those unreasonable caste regulations, and unhampered by the undergrowth of prejudice and blind faith, in which the former are so firmly rooted, will once more return to a fresh and healthy life.

CHARLOTTE KRAUSE

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CONCRETE UNIVERSAL[1]

The doctrine of the Concrete Universal is admittedly Hegelian in origin—and may, indeed, be called the very 'secret' of Hegel—but the germ-plasm of the doctrine may be traced, with a fair degree of accuracy, to Spinoza's distinction of the two stages of *ratio* and *scientia intuitiva*, reinforced later by the Kantian distinction of Understanding and Reason, pointing, in the end, to the problematic and essentially negative concept of an *intellectus archetypus* or intuitive understanding. So far as Spinoza is concerned, the emphasis, however, is on the concrete nature of the individual rather than on the universal, and the emphasis is essentially misplaced in the contestable thesis that was worked out anew, in evident sympathy with the Spinozistic position, by Bradley and Bosanquet, especially the latter—the thesis, namely, that individuality is the true pattern and type of universality and that universality can be found only in the individual in proportion as it is truly individual. To start with Bradley, the problem that is staring him in the face is as to how in spite of recognised differences—'differences forced together by an underlying identity, and a compromise between the plurality and the unity' being 'the essence of relation'[3]—Bradley can consistently allow even 'the shade of diversity' or appearance of separateness to hold its own within the all-comprehending system, the Absolute, which alone is to be regarded as real. Thus, as a consequence of his denial of real plurality and separateness which 'exist only by means of relations,'[4] Bradley was constrained, along one line of reflexion, to disown the Hegelian

[1] Read before the Metaphysics Section of the Indian Philosophical Congress held at Lahore, December 1930.

[2] Vide *Cogitata Metaphysica*, Pt. II, Ch. VII; *Short Treatise*, Pt. I, Ch. VI; also Duff, *Spinoza's Political and Ethical Philosophy*, Ch. V.

[3] *Appearance and Reality* (2nd ed.), p. 180.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 350.

'identity-in-difference,' and to view the universals as merely self-identical characters. Without parrying the question like Bosanquet, who thinks that identity-in-difference must go 'in the end,' [1] Bradley acknowledges that 'identity obviously by its essence must be more or less abstract.' [2] Nevertheless he insists, on the other hand, that it would be one of the coarsest of prejudices to suppose that sameness or identity excludes diversity, and that on the contrary, 'sameness is real amid differences.' While it is true that 'that which is identical in quality must always, so far, be one and its division, in time or space or in several souls, does not take away its unity,' it is no less true that variety or diversity 'does make a difference to the identity, and without that difference and these modifications, the sameness is nothing.' [3] Hence this fact of sameness through diversity points to a 'real unity, a concrete universal' [4]—'as the identity of analysis and synthesis' in which we may be said to have returned to truth and made our peace with reality.[5]

What, then, is the nature of this 'concrete universal'? The first thing to realise is, it is contended, that the universal as placed in opposition to the particulars, and the particulars, as placed in opposition to the universal, both involve contradiction and pass into each other. The true universal is rather the principle that permeates the particulars and that develops itself now into one and now into the other, and the idea appears to be that, if we had insight into the nature of the universal, we should see that all these differences arise out of it. And, following Hegel, Bradley and Bosanquet express this by saying that the true or concrete universal is the individual. Strictly speaking, 'the *abstract* universal and the

[1] *Logic* (2nd ed.), Vol. II, p. 279.
[2] *Appearance and Reality*, p. 351.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 281.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 124.
[5] *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II, p. 487.

abstract particular are what does not exist. The *concrete* particular and the *concrete* universal both have reality, and they are different names for the individual '—which is only 'the identity of universal and particular.' [1]

Now, I begin by questioning the soundness of the principle to which both Bradley and Bosanquet alike subscribe—the principle, namely, in Bosanquet's words, that 'the key to all sound philosophy lies in taking the concrete universal, that is, the individual, as the true type of universality.' [2] Such a doctrine of the 'concrete universal' seems to me to involve the entire obliteration of all conceivable distinction between the universal and the particular as has hitherto been found to hold. The individual in the sense of an independent substantive existent, vanishes and there is substituted in its place a phase in some whole, which is, in its turn, a phase in another, and so on, until ultimately the culmination is reached in the Absolute which is, in truth, only a huge particular. It will be sufficient here to urge two considerations.

In the first place, taking the term 'universal' in the ordinary sense, we need to distinguish the *act* of cognising a universal both from the universal itself and from the way in which that universal, in and through the act in question, is cognised. The mental act of cognising is undoubtedly concrete—a concrete event or occurrence—but it is, as such, neither a concept nor a universal. It is characterised, like every other concrete fact, by a plurality of qualities which it has in common with other mental acts, but in itself, it is as definitely *particular* as any other fact or event in nature. A concept, on the contrary, is the way in which a universal is conceived—the mode in which it is grasped by thought,—and manifestly, is not to be confounded with the act through which it has been attained. As Bradley himself put it, a concept can, in no intelligible sense, be said to happen or have a definitely assignable place

[1] *Principles of Logic*, Vol. I, pp. 188, 189.

[2] *The Principle of Individuality and Value*, p. 40.

in the temporal series. But it is equally important to distinguish the concept from the universal of which it is the concept. A *concept* is doubtless a product of thought —of thought exercised upon a world of objects which are found to exhibit certain identities of character. Psychologically viewed the genesis of the concept may be traced to a process of the mind, which is at once analytic and synthetic—a process, on the one hand, of singling out what lies embedded in the complex structure of reality, and, on the other of filiating or stringing together, so to speak, what appears here, there and everywhere under widely diversified conditions, and in numerical difference. The universal to which this concept refers is a quality or property characterising a number of particular entities, often widely separate from one another in time and space—a 'pervasive character of things' as Professor Alexander expresses it.[1] Surely, no mere synthesis of such concepts will enable us to reach, even at the furthest end of the road, the universal or the so-called 'concrete universal,' for the matter of that, which is taken to be the same as the individual.

In the second place, it is of essential importance to avoid the confusion, occasioned by 'mere verbal analogy,' as the late Prof. Cook Wilson has put it,[2] of 'the unity of the universal *in* its particulars' with 'the unity of the individual substance as a unity of its attributes (or attribute-elements).' The source of this confusion is to be traced, of course, to a famous but none the less cryptic dictum of Hegel's in which he affirms that 'the universal is the ground and foundation, the root and substance of the individual,' that 'which permeates and includes in it everything particular.' This is, as the late lamented Professor L. T. Hobhouse justly complained, the much too prevalent tendency, in certain quarters, of identifying the universal with the concept of it. If one thinks of colour,

[1] Vide *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, N.S. XX. 1920, pp. 150-1.
[2] *Statement and Inference*, Vol. I, p. 156 n.

for example, as a characteristic of things in the physical world, to describe it as an individual wears at once the aspect of perversity and paradox. Appearing, as they do, here, there and everywhere under all sorts of varying conditions, colours exhibit no resemblance whatsoever to the unity and continuity of an individual thing. If, on the other hand, one chooses to think of the concept 'colour,' one can reasonably look upon it as a kind of schema, which in order to be realised must be filled in some definite way, but which *as a schema*, maintains its unity through its differences of expression. Thus, to describe a thing as having a specific colour will seem to be tantamount to placing it within the scope of this *schema*, and, as such, colour would be, in the words of Meredith, 'a spirit upon things by which they become expressive to the spirit.' Summarily speaking, the conceptual system is one thing and the reality to which it refers is another. Related to one another they certainly are, but the relation in question is obviously not one of identity. In the last analysis, then, the fallacy, lurking in this Hegelian doctrine of the 'concrete universal,' is that of attributing the unity, which, in a way, belongs to the concept, to the varied instances of the universal to which the concept refers. The real unity of a universal consists in identity of character—an identity which no doubt is realised in countless, different instances,—but it does not most certainly consist in any substantive or causal continuity of the type exemplified in an existent individual. It seems to me, then, that although in a sense it may be legitimate to describe the inter-connected system of reality—understanding by that, however, something very different from Bradley's 'supra-relational unity'—as an individual, we are bound to recognise that within this interconnected system, universals, relations and particulars have their place and are alike entitled to the designation 'real.'

It is for this reason that I find considerable difficulty in Prof. Stout's theory of the universal as the 'distributive unity of a class'—which, as a rebound from the somewhat dogmatic in-

sistence on the tenet of the 'concrete universal,' commits the same fallacy of hypostatising the universal that he begins by castigating in others. Accordingly, it is hardly fair on his part to convict the 'traditional view' of the error of hypostatisation in its representation of the universal as a 'single indivisible entity' which as 'numerically the same' in all' or 'ubiquitous without having parts or members' 'spreads undivided, operates unspent.[1] While it is not denied that the traditional view is very often amenable to this charge, it can and does obviate this error, so far as it keeps rigorously to the 'epistemic' issue proper and thus does not need to be superseded by Prof. Stout's peculiar view of the universal—which, as a remedy, turns out to be as bad as the disease itself.

What I am concerned to maintain, in the first instance, is that Prof. Stout's theory of the universal reveals on closer inspection, what I venture to think to be, an *ignoratio elenchi*. The decisive issue centred in the problem of universals is, as I conceive it, not whether characters or qualities are 'numerically same' or 'distinct,' 'locally separate' or not, but how in spite of numerical distinctness of concrete things or particulars, characters or qualities can yet have such sameness or identity as is predicable in the same sense and relation of their relevant particulars. In this matter Bradley's phrasing of the issue, quite irrespective of the solution offered by him, seems to be more to the point. Repudiating at the very start the 'existential' interpretation of the issue involved in 'numerical sameness' or 'distinctness,'—"the idea that mere existence could be anything or could make anything the same or different, seems a sheer superstition"[2]—he holds all identity and continuity to be ideal, a matter of content. Then he proceeds to reinforce his own position by interpreting anew the Leibnitzian principle of the 'Identity of Indiscernibles' in the words that bear full quotation in this context: "it is because the ideal content *seems* the

[1] *Relativity, Logic and Mysticism*, Supplementary Volume III, pp. 115-6.
[2] *Appearance and Reality*, p. 592.

same that we *therefore* assume it to be really identical, and identical in spite of change and diversity, despite the difference of its two presentations.'' [1] When, therefore, Prof. Stout goes on to affirm [2] that 'the same indivisible quality cannot appear separately in different times and places' unless it is locally or temporally separate, he is only begging the question concerning the nature of universals at the very start, and precluding the very possibility of ever coming into close quarters with the nature of the universal. For, his contention virtually amounts to saying *totidem verbis* that a character which characterizes a particular must characterize a particular only and therefore must be only a particular—or, to use his own words: 'characters *as such* are instances of universals.' But the reasoning in this regard does not appear to be at all convincing. Simply because characters are never found except as characterising particulars, it by no means follows that characters are only *instances* of universals, *i. e.*, are 'particulars,' [3] or as one recent writer,[4] in avowed sympathy with Prof. Stout's view, concludes herefrom that 'what is in particulars is itself particular, a character such as a quality (or relation).' Such a conclusion, however, is altogether untenable. Straining the analogy between characters exemplified in concrete things and the things themselves, the mode of reasoning employed herein has been betrayed into a confusion of the unity of the universal in its exemplifying particulars with the unity of the individual as a unity of its attributes. I do not offer to discuss here how far the conclusion has been influenced and precipitated by Prof. Stout's view of substance as nothing apart from its qualities. What I find to be one of the most fatal pitfalls in his argument is his faltering grip on the distinction between the identity of a 'continuant' and the identity of a 'recurrent' character,—a distinction which, thanks to Mr. Johnson, is so useful in deter-

[1] *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II, pp. 587-8.
[2] *The Nature of Universals and Propositions* (Hertz Lecture).
[3] *Ibid*, p. 7.
[4] L. A. Reid, *Knowledge and Truth*, p. 199.

mining the issue concerning universals. Indeed, the one essential aberration of Prof. Stout's theory, so far as I can make out, is that there could, according to it, be no 'unit classes' no universals with only one instance, in as much as the admission of such a universal would stultify the formula of 'the distributive unity' of a class. Yet there is absolutely no reason for refusing to admit the possibility of such universals.

While admitting that the traditional identity of differences, is ill adapted, by reason of its inherent ambiguities, to express the nature of universals, I do not yet see how we can mend matters by making universality consist 'in the identity of a type, that is recurrent in separate particulars.' [1] This type, kind or pattern, we are told,[2] is strictly 'what is recurrent' in qualities and relations which "are, as existences always particular"—though "each is apprehensible only as a 'so-and-so,' as a 'such'"—and, further, 'the mode in which particulars are thus known is also the form in which they exist.' Much as I agree with the general tenour of Prof. N. K. Smith's criticisms, I am yet bound to dissent from this way of putting the case. I fail to see in what way exactly the 'type,' beyond introducing needless complication and an abstraction of the third degree, can solve the outstanding difficulties of the problem. Cannot a recurring character, by the very fact of its recurrence, be that 'pervasive character of things' which is essentially what we mean by the universal and thus dispense with the necessity of interpolating a 'type' into the analysis of the situation ? Is not the nature of the universal better expressed by the identity of recurrent character than by the substantive unity of the 'type'? Moreover, it is essentially misleading to identify—no matter whether it is a particular or a universal of which you are speaking—'the mode in which things exist' with 'the mode in which they are known.' That is why we have the somewhat

[1] N. K. Smith, *The Nature of Universals*, Mind, No. 144, p. 420.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 408, 420.

otiose bifurcation of qualities and relations into an existential aspect and an aspect of content or character, *viz.* 'so-and-so,' proceeding presumably, from the belief in an existential status of universals, grounded in a ' theory of universals ' which 'does not require us to resort to any such doctrine [1] as the 'subsistence of universals.' Though not propounding a doctrine or defining the realm of 'subsistents,' Prof. Smith himself is confronted with the need of recognising, all the same, such a realm—of which he has, at least provided a negative justification in the contrast that he draws between 'the actual' and the ' non-actual ' universal. His failure to recognise the importance or the essentially negative concept of 'subsistence,' has not infrequently led him to confuse the universal with the concept of it, and the word 'type' is typical of this confusion. To sum up therefore, what follows from a closer scrutiny of the doctrine of the 'concrete universal,' whether in the Hegelian or non-Hegelian version of it, is the total inaptness of its description as 'individual.' It is, in Bradley's opinion, the 'idea of system,' 'where difference and identity are two aspects of one process' exhibiting itself in the ' identity of analysis and synthesis ' that is at bottom the notion of a perfected individuality—'the goal of our thoughts [2] 'Our criterion,' in short, is 'this perfection—which is but 'individuality or the idea of complete system.[3] Thus, Bradley is debarred, by his very definition of 'individuality,' from predicating it of any other being except the Absolute. What I contend, however, is that the universal can neither be concrete nor individual ; and therefore, to describe the individual as ' both a concrete particular and a concrete universal '—both being 'names of real existence' [4]—is but doing violence to language. To call an individual a concrete particular is something that one can readily understand, but at the same breath to designate an individual a 'concrete universal ' is perplexing in the extreme.

[1] *Ibid*, p. 405.
[2] *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II, pp. 487, 490.
[3] *Appearance and Reality*, p. 542.
[4] *Principles of Logic*, Vol. I, p. 188.

It can only be entertained on the abrogation of the specific distinction between the universal and the particular. The perplexity is to be raced, however, to that cryptic dictum of Hegel's in which he holds that 'the universal is identical with itself with the express qualification, that it simultaneously contains the particular and the individual.' Now the term 'contains' is singularly inappropriate in the context. It owes all its plausibility to a radical confusion of the "is" of predication with "is" of equation or identity. To illustrate by Hegel's own example, Caius, Titus and Sempronius, as human, are each identical with the property of humanity, and thus humanity as a universe contains as its particulars Caius, Titus and Sempronius. But it is a mere truism that physical inclusion is one thing, and logical comprehension another—an individual inclusive of its properties is something fundamentally different from the universal as comprehending and manifesting itself in its particulars. It is far better to say, therefore, that the universal characterises the individual or the particular.

It is not at all difficult to see how this view reacts on the nature of the individual—representing it ultimately as a mere conflux or 'meeting-place' of universals. This is how the notion of the 'concrete universal' is obtained. But, as I have already argued, this is in effect to abolish the distinction between the universal and the individual. Individuals, in the Aristotelian sense of πδ ωτη ουσι'α are no mere combinations of, or complex, universals merely, simply because universals are not individuals, and no mere synthesis of "what"s will bring us any the nearer to the concrete existence of an individual which we signify by the "that."

The root trouble for Bradley originates, however, from his systematic attempt to measure and define the concrete individual in terms of an abstract, formal individuality—the attempt in other words, to reduce the substantive into the merely predicative. Hence the inadequacy, and the inevitable bankruptcy of the logical criterion of individuality 'under double' form of

inclusiveness and harmony,'' [1] that leads him to declare that nothing is, properly speaking, individual or perfect except the Absolute; for, this means no more than that Individuality is individual or that Perfection is perfect. Individuality is to be defined, if at all, from the human end, and not from the side of the Absolute, which remains, in spite of what one may contrive to say to the contrary, an abstract universal. Such a reversion of the philosophic method cannot but entail consequences that are disastrous, and however much Bradley may try to retrieve the situation by calling the individual the concrete universal, the concreteness of the individual evaporates in its reduction to the universal, or at the most, survives only in name. That is why he proceeds, with unsuspecting consistency, to equate the ' true individual ' with 'system' [2] as equivalent expressions of the nature of Reality—though it is reckoned that 'a self-contained individual (like the System itself) remains in a sense an ideal.' [3] Now 'system' even with a capital S, will ever fall far short of, and fail to express, that concrete wholeness which reveals itself in the individual. In itself the system is a very useful category, so far as it exhibits a far more complex and comprehensive unity than that we meet with in individuals. But that does by no means imply that the more complex a unity is, the more concrete it necessarily is. Common sense would, however, declare that the relation is just the reverse. Nevertheless Bradley, no less than Bosanquet, is labouring under this very assumption, so far as they are bent upon resolving the difference of *kind*, that exists between the abstract and concrete, into one of *degrees* in completeness, and treating it like individuality, as a matter of degree, to be found in its perfection only in the Absolute. Measured by such a standard, the finite must necessarily appear to be abstract and ideal, and not, therefore, truly individual and concrete. There is, therefore, nothing strange that they should perpetually

[1] *Appearance and Reality*, p. 37.
[2] *Loc. cit.*
[3] *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II (Terminal Essays), p. 658.

be talking of a concrete universal or concrete unity, when what they are evidently meaning all the time is simply a complex unity, or the unity of a system. Founding, as he does, his conception of unity on differences, that are only precarious and superficial, he fails to justify herein the character of true universality which consists, as Bosanquet phrased it, in 'sameness by means of the other.'

It is true that Bradley has declared no less emphatically than Bosanquet that 'there would be no meaning in sameness unless it were the identity of differences, the unity of elements which it holds together, but must not confound.[1] But the real meaning of the 'sameness' which he has enshrined in his views of unity is to be recovered from the significant use of the metaphor of 'elements' and the curiously grudging and disparaging tone in which he habitually speaks of differences. Forsooth, in a system where 'difference itself is but phenomenal ' and 'not ultimate'—in as much as 'plurality and separateness themselves exist only by means of relations '[2] that are unreal—what in reality we can be, and 'are asserting' is simply ' that *notwithstanding other aspects* this one aspect of sameness persists and is real.'[3] But this is not assuredly what he originally meant by the true universal or unity in difference; as a matter of fact, it answers exactly to Bosanquet's definition of generality as sameness in spite of the other.' What he was out to demonstrate and justify is the reality of the 'concrete universal ' or 'unity in difference'; what he ended by demonstrating is the merely general or abstract universal. That is why Bradley is so anxious to maintain the aspect of identity or sameness at the expense of differences, and regard universals as being identical in their diverse instances, so that ultimately he discovers the main evidence in justification of concrete universals not in recurrent characters common to separate existences—for such there are none—

[1] *Appearance and Reality*, p. 348.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 350.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 351 (italics mine).

but in the self-identity of the 'continuant.' This is what he calls the true, that is to say, concrete universal which is also the individual or system of members, each of which is likewise a system in miniature.' Once we set our foot on this path, we cannot hope to discover, even at the furthest end of it, anything which can, with strict justice, be called 'individual.' For once we start by de-realising or de-individualising the individual—in pursuance of some abstract idea of perfect individuality—it is vain to attempt to reconstitute, by a process of re-concretion that individual with which the so-called 'concrete universal' is seeking to re-unite. Try, however much we may, to persuade ourselves, by the delusive gospel of the 'concrete universal,' that this is the Individual we had been all along in search of, it shall,—to repeat his own verdict in another context,—'no more *make* that whole which commands our devotion, than some shredded dissection of human tatters is that warm and breathing beauty of flesh which our hearts found delightful.'[1] For, evidently, in this suicidal pursuit, the individual as a substantive existent has disappeared, and, what we have instead is merely a phase of some universal which, again, in its turn is a phase of another universal until in the long run it reaches its consummation, in the manner of a 'note absorbed in the harmony of its higher bliss,'[2] in the Absolute as the one true Individual. It is futile to go on calling a mere synthesis of universals, however concretised, an individual—for, so to insist would be a more or less fallacy of verbalism; nor would it do to claim it as the 'Paradise regained' for thought, because, on his own showing, the 'Paradise to which one returns unless one's self could come back unchanged, is Paradise no longer.'[3]

It is apparent, therefore, that following the lead of the category of 'identity in difference' one must terminate in something that is neither concrete nor individual, but is assuredly universal

[1] *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II.
[2] *Appearance and Reality*, p. 172.
[3] *Principles of Logic*, Vol. II. T. E. IV, p. 654.

and therefore, abstract. Though the notion of the 'concrete universal' as the true type of universality, is somewhat paradoxical, if not self-contradictory, it has nevertheless had an eventful history within as well as outside the Hegelian school proper. It may have fallen short of its immediate purpose—of substantiating the nature of Reality as Individual—but it may truly be said to have succeeded in that it seems to fail, *viz.*, in stressing the character of Reality as a concrete unity. It has influenced even such an un-Hegalian thinker as Professor Stout in his treatment of the universal as being concrete—the universal being 'the unity of a class as including its members or instances.' Now, this seems to be an extreme and literal carrying out, in an extensional reference, of the Hegelian view of 'the universal' as containing 'the particular and the individual.' It is true that Professor Stout stops short of extreme nominalism or particularism, and retrieves the situation by the admission of the universal as a 'distributive unity.' I have already commented upon the profound ambiguity lurking in the Hegelian dictum, and on the impropriety of an extensional rendering of the universal. What I am concerned to point out here is that the view of the universal as a 'distributive unity'—markedly the epithet 'distributive' as used in this context— is illustrative of that error of psychological and metaphysical hypostatisation of the universal into which many a noted thinker have slipped inadvertently. So construed his view is separated by a very thin margin from that of undisguised and avowed nominalism. Just as in Bradley's rendering of it, the individual is dissolved into a collection of universals that are ultimately housed in the Absolute, so the universal, in Prof. Stout's version of it, is concretised—or, in other words, 'distributed' and instantialized—to the very detriment of its character as universal. But the ultimate sequel to both these characteristic attempts is the same, *viz.*, the abolition of the specific distinction between the universal and the particular. Here is clearly a meeting of extremes, which has an interesting parallel in the Hegelian school itself. It is an historic common-

place that the objective or absolute idealism of Hegel which is sometimes styled, though paradoxically, 'ideal-realism,' has in its ambition to be absolute or thorough-going frequently tended, on account of its much too pretentious 'Panlogismus,' to degenerate as among the left-wing Hegelians and 'ultra-Hegelians,' into naturalism, historicism, or materialism of the most unmitigated type. That is indeed inevitable; an idealism that seeks, by its over-emphasis on the dictum 'all that is real is rational,' to obliterate the irreducible antithesis—I say, antithesis which must, at all costs, be maintained, although antagonism is denied—between the ideal and the actual, is sure to defeat its own end and is ultimately destined by its natural Nemesis to border upon a crude naturalism or materialism with its apotheosis of the actual. The modern Italian neo-Idealism which upholds the main Hegelian tradition seems to me to have been betrayed into the very same fallacy.

It is apparent that the doctrine of 'the concrete universal' as the very 'secret' of Hegel, has, passing through its varying formulations in the Hegelian school, come perilously near crass nominalism in what may be called Prof. Stout's concretism or particularism. For, what does his so-called 'distributive unity' amount to? It amounts to saying, in so many words, that the universal is a mere name for the totality of actual and possible instances, and as such, it is only nominally contra-distinguished from nominalism which it virtually is. It is, assuredly, straining the resources of language, and of ordinary speech, to say that all that we mean by the proposition 'the rose is red' is that the adjective 'red' stands, not for the characteristic being of the universal 'red,' but only and always, for all the actual and possible, instances of red. Granted, further, that the 'distributive unity of a class' or kind 'is an ultimate and unanalysable type of unity,' how does it avail in enabling us to realise that the separate instances of 'red' are only instances of the universal 'red,' without a prior knowledge of that of which they are recognised to be the instances? How, in other words, do the

instances come to be referred to the unity of one class if they have no common character except that of belonging to the class? The case for 'distributive unity' is only proved by a prolepfic use of the terms employed; and it is made to rest ultimately upon what may, in all fairness, be described a clear *νστερον προτερον*. By no stretch of imagination can these diverse instances of red be conceived to possess this characteristic prior to their classification, and cannot, therefore, serve as the basis of classification itself. Once it is clearly grasped that universals are integral to reality, and are to be interpreted not in a merely extensional manner—which has been found to be so forced and unnatural—but in a direct connotational reference, it is easier to realise that the unity of the universal is secured by the common character which is compatible with, and, in fact, pre-supposes diversity in respect of its exemplifying particulars. What is needed, therefore, is the whole-hearted recognition and consistent application of the notion of an inter-related system, for relatedness within a system as a category has been found to be much more fundamental, and ultimate, and essentially calculated to do justice to the reality of relations and characters than either of those of 'individuality', 'identity-in-difference', 'concrete universal' or even 'distributive unity.' What is the more note-worthy is that the unity which is characteristic of an articulate system is 'sameness by means of the other'—a phrase truly descriptive of individuality, not of universality as Bosanquet would have it—and therefore concrete.

S. K. Das

THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS[1]

Four questions constituting the problem of progress.

I. Whilst the generality of mankind is naturally inclined to believe that all that has existed and held good for a long time past and during many hundred years is the best of all things and of all institutions, the thoughtful man of all ages and of all countries has asked himself these questions: What does progress mean? Wherein does it consist? What are its conditions? And how can it be effected?

These queries are apt to suggest themselves to the thinking man who is either dissatisfied or is not, at any rate, fully satisfied with developments in the past either as regards the notion of progress, or as regards the methods adopted, or even as regards the results actually obtained, and has somehow caught glimpses into and believed in the possibility of a new form of existence ushering in another state of things which is better suited to the needs of humanity, happier and prosperous than any of those experienced heretofore. The preamble of the Seventh Pillar Edict of King Asoka of India will, I think, clearly bear out this point. In the introductory statement of this famous edict His Gifted Majesty and Grace the King says:

"The monarchs who had reigned in the past ages of mankind desired to see the people sufficiently grow in the growth of piety and morality, but they did not sufficiently grow. Now by what path should I lead them to progress, by what means can I enable them to sufficiently grow in the growth of piety and morality, and how can I uplift them by effecting the desired growth in piety and morality? Then this thought occurred to me: I will cause proclamations of the ideals of piety and morality to be proclaimed and instructions in the laws of piety and

[1] This paper is substantially just a fuller form of two lectures, one addressed to the Philosophy Club of the Presidency College, Calcutta, on the Problem of Conflict, on January, 18, 1930, and the other to a select gathering of the public of Chinsurah, on Progress and its Conditions, on February, 15, 1930.

morality to be imparted, being attentive whereto they will abide by them and elevate themselves."

Though by my professional duties I have been concerned with the past history and civilisation of India, I cannot but welcome this occasion when I am called upon to express my views on a subject on which every thinking man or woman, I dare say, has some definite opinion, and that in response to the call of those who have failed to remain satisfied with developments in the long past of this country either as regards the notion of progress, or as regards the methods adopted, or even as regards the results actually obtained, and somehow entertained a belief in the possibility of a better state of things to come. And whatever the real weight and value of my reflections on this fundamental problem of human society, I will frankly lay them before the reader for his sober consideration.

Meaning of progress.

II. At the very outset arises the question: What does progress mean? It goes without saying that stepping onward is the accepted etymological sense of the word progress, or that continuous advancement, improvement, change for the better, perfection, elevation, and such other words pass current as its synonyms. I can quite see their usefulness for common understanding in daily conversations of men. Keeping them within their reasonable bounds, I may even utilise them for explaining what I understand to be the meaning of progress, never forgetting to beware of the danger of misinterpretation when one's ideas are presented in terms of common parlance.

It is easy to detect that the commonly accepted etymological sense and various synonyms of progress carry with them certain metaphorical implications and vagaries of imagination which, if not carefully guarded against, are likely to produce confusion. For as soon as one begins to talk of progress as stepping onward, one is apt to have at the back of one's mind the fancy of moving on and on by a set path of the journey of man's life to

a set destination or goal.[1] In the same train of imagination one may be led to think of proceeding step by step in order to effect a continuous advancement and a continual change for the better up till the final stage of development or evolution is reached.[2] As, on the one hand, this play of imagination appears happy on account of its optimistic appeal so, on the other hand, it arouses the dread of fatigue of journeying through a weary path compelling the human mind to eagerly seek final repose or rest in an eternal home, a perfect state of things, a glorious paradise. It is necessary to guard against these poetical associations and creative fancies of art.

I may be prepared to accept stepping as an interpretation of progress provided that it does not suggest the imagery of the cycles of movement,—of moving forward and backward, of envelopment and development, progression and retrogression.[3] I can

[1] For instance, the Kali-saṃtaraṇa Upanishad emphatically declares that there is no better means of crossing the fearful sea of existence in this Dark Age than repeating this formula of the Lord's name :

Hare-Rāma, Hare-Rāma, Rāma-Rāma, Hare-Hare |
Hare-Krishṇa, Hare-Krishṇa, Krishṇa-Krishṇa, Hare-Hare ||

And in the Kindred Sayings, the Buddhist herald of paradise sings out in this strain :

" Straight is the name that Road is called, and Free
From Fear, the quarter whither thou art bound.
Thy chariot is the Silent Runner named,
With wheels of Righteous effort fitted well.
Conscience the Leaning Board ; the Drapery
Is Heedfulness ; the driver is the Norm,
I say, and Right views, they that run before :
And, be it woman, be it man for whom
Such chariot doth wait, by that same car
Into Nibbāna's presence shall they come."

[2] This is indeed the substance of the Brahmanical doctrine of four *āśramas* or stages of effort, and of the Buddhist doctrine of *chariyā* or *pāramitā*. In the Gaṇaka-Moggallāna-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya the Brahmanical doctrine has been set forth in these words : " Just as a mathematician counts the numbers in an ascending order, one, two, three, and so on, or just as one walks up a staircase step by step, so the Brahmanical teachers have graduated their system of training and rules of practical life."

[3] Here the allusion is to the Brahmanical and Buddhist notions of cosmical eras (*saṃvarta-vivarta-kalpas*), and to the Jain notion of *utsarpiṇī* and *avasarpiṇī yugas*,

concede stepping only in the sense of the preparedness and possibility of mankind for taking certain definite steps, another set of such steps, and yet another set *ad infinitum*, sufficing, as devised each time, to suit their manifold needs and diversify their works of creation. In following certain definite courses of action the utmost that may be expected is the consciousness of a felt advance in the sense that the steps previously taken were not the last or final ones (*charama* or *parama*) but that now they are capable of taking other courses, after that other ones, and so on. The degree of progress is to be determined by the measure of preparness and possibility of humanity for taking certain definite courses of action sufficing, as devised under varying circumstances, to suit its manifold needs and diversify its works of creation. It is immaterial, as I shall show below, that certain courses now taken should always be consistent with those known to have been taken before. The soundness is to be tested rather negatively, namely, to see that steps that are now being taken are not inconsistent with the preceding ones.[1]

I am not surely juggling with mere words when I maintain that in judging the soundness of the steps of progress the really important thing to consider is not whether the devised courses are consistent in all respects with those tried before but rather whether these are not inconsistent with them. The Indian dialectic recognises position, counter-position, juxta-position and trans-position as the four different modes of determination of

[1] Consistency is the insistence of all cults of conservation (*sthiti*). One of the clauses in the valedictory address of the teacher to the pupil on the latter's leaving the school (Taittirīya Upanishad, I, 9) is : " Perform only those good works which have been done by us (predecessors), and not others." One of the seven essential conditions of national or communal well-being that are said to have been laid down by the Buddha Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, Ch. I) is : "So long as the individuals of a nation or community do not seek to establish that which is not established and to upset that which is well-established, so long they may be expected to prosper and not to decline." The pious wish expressed by King Asoka in his edicts is that "his sons, grandsons, and the descendants who follow them, as long as the present world-system continues, should abide by the principles and ideals of piety and morality inculcated by him." The repeated insistence of Brahmanism is on the consistency of man's actions with the Vedic injunctions, and the exceptions are only the cases where the departures may be excused.

truth relating to all matters of fact. The position is the putting forth of the thesis in the form of an affirmation that 'something is something (say consistent).' The counter-position is the contradiction of the thesis by an antithesis in the form of a negation that 'something is not something (say, not consistent).' The juxta-position is the combination of incompatibles or the explaining away of the fact of opposition between the thesis and the antithesis by a half-hearted synthesis in the form of an analytical discrimination of the parts that 'something is in some regard something (say, consistent) and in some regard other thing (say, inconsistent).' Lastly, the trans-position is the further step of synthesis in the form of an artistic appreciation of its total effect that 'something is, upon the whole, neither something (say, consistent), nor other thing (say, inconsistent), and yet partakes somehow of the character of both.'[1] As will be evident from the following illustration, 'not inconsistent,' here proposed as the sound test of the steps of progress, covers the ground of all these four modes.

If in devising the best conceivable food for the modern civilised man we be all along concerned to make it consistent, rigorously consistent, with the food of the first man who used to eat all things raw and uncooked, we can never dream of the art of cooking, and what to speak of its progress! If, on the other hand, our main consideration be that it will not be inconsistent with the first man's food, that it will not be inconsistent with any other man's food, and even that it will not be inconsistent with any food which is the subsistence of life in general, we may be sure to get wider and wider scopes for investigation, comparison, deliberations on relative excellence and drawback, and suitability and unsuitability, improvement of the technique of the art, fresh discovery and invention, determination and choice.

[1] It may be noted that the seven modes of the Jain dialectic (*sapta-bhaṅgi-naya*) are nothing but further elaborations of the four mentioned above.

The insistence on consistency is needed, as one may reasonably contend, to secure and widen the domain of the first man's food and of food at large. But the rigorous insistence on it is bound to be detrimental to the art of cooking, and it is likely to be an impediment to man's existence where, for some reasons or other, the natural food is not available. Too much insistence on consistency is destined to create what the poet of Bengal aptly calls "the incubus of petrified tradition." If the insistence, however, be that it will not anyway be inconsistent, I may venture to think that no food which has been carefully devised after deliberations from all possible standpoints will not only not contradict either the first man's food, or another man's food, or food at large, but will deepen its significance along with the greater and greater realisation of the possibilities of the art of selection and preparation of human food. The fetish or false pride that the last man's food is not what the first man's food was, that the last man's food is all dressed and cooked and the first man's food was all raw and uncooked will vanish as the testimony of fact will show that in no stages of human evolution the man has done or could do away with the first man's food. One can say indeed that the degree of progress depends on the measure of clear recognition that may be given to the first man's food, to the second man's food, to all men's food, nay, to all food; and it depends also on the possibility of being followed by another kind of best devised food, and yet another kind.

It may be pointed out that so far as the best devised food of the modern man leaves room for the raw and uncooked edibles, it is consistent with the first man's food; that so far as it makes due provision for the edibles dressed and cooked, it is inconsistent; that in respect of both, considered as two distinct elements or constituents, it is a compound, aggregate or composite; and that so far as the total effect of both on the human system and their combined effect on the æsthetic sense go, it is neither consistent nor inconsistent.

Even further analytical discrimination may be attempted

enabling one to form judgments which will be of a quantitative, or of a qualitative, or of a proportional character. And what is in all these respects true of food, holds equally true of dress, habitation, social organisation, economic scheme, political constitution, method of administration, language, thought, art and education.

Continuous advancement as a synonym of progress has its significance if it implies that continued, repeated, sustained and strenuous efforts are necessary to produce the diverse and best possible results. But if it implies, on the contrary, that mankind should at all times and in all cases follow the beaten track and travel by the same kind of vehicle to a fixed paradise, it dwindles into monotony, and hence dullness. Perfection as another synonym may have its significance as representing the last stage of the history of a single course of action devised to produce a particular kind of result. But if it impels one to believe that no other courses can be devised to produce other good results and that it is advisable in the economy of human thought and energy to keep to that single course of action under all conditions, the consequence is stagnation, and hence death. The idea of improvement is dependent on the notion of standard. It also has its significance as a means of checking pretentious claims to the originality of method or of production, and no less, as a means of preventing thoughtless imitation and waste of energy. But if it implies the stifling of all efforts because these are not commensurate with a set standard, it tantamounts to strangling the life of the whole human race.

Thus one may entertain all the current and generally accepted ideas in a reasonable and limited sense, not losing sight of the suggested meaning of progress as stepping in the sense of the increasing preparedness and possibility of mankind for taking certain definite steps, other such steps, and after them other ones, sufficing, as devised each time, to suit their manifold needs and diversify the products of thought and art, not contradicting in essence the traditions of the past, and

not expecting any more than the consciousness of a fe advance.

Upon the whole, the claim made is that if we devise t best conceivable food or think the best conceivable thought, this food or thought, the food or thought of all ages, countri and peoples will receive its due recognition, gain in significanc that is, will, to use the noble phrase, fulfil itself. If we tru and vigorously live the full life, in the fulness of life that v are able to live, will live on the forefathers who are otherwi dead and gone.

So far regarding the meaning of progress.

[To be continued.]

B. M. Barua

THE MAKINC OF A NATION

An attempt is made here to discover what elements have been found helpful, necessary or indispensable in the building up of nations in order to get some guidance as to what may be done in India towards bringing about a sense of national unity.

To-day the term 'nationality' is used so much and so loosely that a little time and thought devoted to it will not be entirely wasted. Being so much a part of our mental aptitude we seldom pause to find out what it is, how it is constituted and how aroused.

Says Blumtschli, the German political writer: "While diversity of races is *natural*, the nations into which they divide or which have arisen from the fusion of the different races are clearly the product of history. Nations are historical members of Humanity and its races." "History by processes of separation and fusion as well as by change and development has in the course of time severed nations and produced new ones. Hence the peculiarities of nations appear less in their physical appearance than in their spirit and character, their language and their law." [1] Races break up into nations through the operation of certain forces, and so there can be several nations in one race, and even several races in one nation. We start with races and in course of time come to nations.

To make intelligible what we mean by a nation, we may define it provisionally in Ramsay Muir's words as "a body of people who feel themselves to be naturally linked together by certain affinities which are so strong and real for them that they can live happily together, are dissatisfied when disunited, and cannot tolerate subjection to people who do not share these ties." [2] This, of course, is when the process is more or less completed. A personification of this unity may be said to be the spirit of nationality.

[1] Blumtschli, J. K., Theory of the State, Book 2, Chap. I, pp. 84-85.
[2] Ramsay Muir, Nationalism and Internationalism, p. 38.

What are the factors in the making of nationality, the ties of affinity necessary to constitute a nation ? We shall deal with them severally and somewhat exhaustively. What has history to say ?

The occupation of a defined geographical area with a character of its own is often assumed to be one. It cannot be denied that most of the clearly marked nations have enjoyed a geographical unity, and have often owed their nationhood, in part, to this fact. But this is not indispensable for nationhood. One of the most persistent and passionate of European nationalities, the Poles, has no clearly defined geographical limits on any side. On the other hand, between France and Germany, two different and hostile nationalities, the line of geographical division seems almost accidental; again, the real geographical unity which belongs to the Hungarian plains with its ring of encircling mountains and its single river system has not availed to create a national unity. Geographical unity may help, but it is not the main source of nationhood.

Unity of race is often considered to be one essential, perhaps the one essential, element in nationhood. History does not support this belief. There is no nation in the world that is not of mixed race, and there never has been a race which has succeeded in including all its members within a single nationality. In his 'Nationalism and Internationalism,' Ramsay Muir, granting that "some degree of racial unity is indeed almost indispensable in nationhood," adds that "it is enough that the various elements in the nation should have forgotten their divergent origins and that there should be no sharply drawn cleavage between them. In other words, racial mixture is not hostile to the growth of national spirit, so long as the races are merged and there is free intercourse, by intermarriage and otherwise, between them. What is fatal to the growth of a sense of nationality is that one of the constituent races should cherish a conviction of its own superiority and that this conviction should be embodied in law or custom." One cannot help asking "What

about the United States of America where everyone of the conditions quoted as antagonistic to the building up of nationality is obviously present ? '' Muir has either overlooked this case or deliberately set it aside as not yet a nationality. No one who has seen nationalistic demonstrations in the States can doubt the vigour of her nationalism. How long such a nation can hold together, however, time only can say.

A third factor in nationality, far more important, perhaps, than race, is unity of language. A common language is the special mark of a people, especially because the colour and quality of a language and the colour and quality of the thought of those using it have not a little to do with each other. Those who cannot understand it tend to be regarded as foreigners, strangers. It is the expression of the common spirit and the instrument of intellectual intercourse. A national language keeps the sense of nationality living and awake by daily exercise. Even strange races entering the heritage of a new language are gradually transformed in spirit until their nationality is changed. Thus the German tribes of the Ostrogoths and Lombards in Italy became Italians, the Celts, Franks and Burgundians in France became French and the Slavs and Wends in Prussia became German. There is scarcely any racial affinity between the people of northern Italy and those of the extreme South; but they speak a common language which has been standardized by a great literature. But for this how could Mazzini's young prophets have appealed to all the Italians ? A common language means also a common literature which is the means of community of thought and feeling, a common inspiration of great ideas, a common heritage of songs and folk-tales, embodying and impressing upon each successive generation the national point of view.

And yet unity of language does not necessarily bring about national unity, and disunity of language does not necessarily prevent it. The Spanish language dominates Central and South America but these lands have long ceased to feel any such affinity

with Spain as would lead them to desire political unity with her. The American speak English but they are a perfectly distinct nationality. Here not language but the difference of natural circumstances and pursuits, of historical, social and political conditions, which has divided one people into two. On the other hand, the Swiss are a nation though they have no language peculiar to themselves, but are divided into French-speaking, German-speaking and Italian-speaking districts. Belgians are a nation though they speak Flemish, French and German. Unity of language, therefore, though it is of great potency as a nation-building force, is neither indispensable to the growth of nationality nor sufficient of itself to make a nation.

Religious unity has sometimes been regarded as a factor in the development of nationality and there are cases in which it has proved a potent force in nation-making. The national character of the Scots is probably more due to the work of John Knox than to any other single cause. But religion of itself has seldom or never sufficed to create a nation. It may be more plausibly argued that religious disunity is hostile to nationhood. Ireland is a notorious instance. On the other hand, there are not wanting cases where religious disunity has not been an obstacle to national unification. Germans are conscious of unity as a nation apart from the differences between Protestants, Catholics, Pantheists and Jews, and are distinguished from foreign peoples of the same religion. England has never known religious unity since the Reformation. Religious freedom which is valued more highly than unity of belief in most Western lands has never been found to weaken national feeling. In conclusion, we may say that while in some cases religious unity has powerfully contributed to create and strengthen national unity, and while in other cases religious disunity has placed grave obstacles in its way ; on the whole, religion has not been a factor of the first importance in the making of nations. It must be added, however, that when the fundamental conceptions, ideals and implications of the religions are so widely dissimilar as to make

mutual understanding and friendly co-operation very difficult, religious unity becomes almost indispensable for national unity. The fundamental antagonism between the outlook of the Moslems and of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire made the growth of national sentiment among these communities quite unrealizable. The instance of the antipathy between the Hindus and Moslems of India has often been cited in this connection. But it must be remembered also that there are other factors at least equally strong drawing these people together.

Common subjection to a firm and systematic government, even if it is despotic, may well help to create a nation especially if a system of just and equal laws is created which the subjects can fully accept as part of their mode of life. The nationhood of France owes a great debt to its practically despotic kings from Philip Augustus downwards. It was again the despotism of Charles V and Philip II which hammered the divided states of Spain into a real nation. Common subjection and hostility to a foreign rule is one of the most potent forces making for national unification as it tends to make divergent groups willing to unite in the face of a common crisis. The political unity brought about by the British has greatly assisted the sense of national unity in India. In view of all that has been said so far, we are led to remark that there is no single infallible test of what constitutes nationality unless it be the people's own conviction of their nationhood. The final deciding factor in nationality is psychological, "National characteristics," according to Pillsbury,[1] "are not discovered directly but only through responses of the individual, and through the responses that betray his emotional and intellectual activities. Ask him if you want to know to what nationality he belongs and you will have a better criterion than his racial descent or physical measurement. Nationality is first of all a psychological and sociological problem; only indirectly can it be determined by anthropometry or even by history." (Pillsbury, p. 20.) In other words, the essence of

[1] W. B. Pillsbury :, Psychology of Nationalism and Internationalism, New York, 1919.

nationality is a sentiment and is to be seen in the common spirit and common character which inspires it.

In the language of Ramsay Muir,[1] " The most potent of all nation-moulding forces, the one indispensable factor which must be present whatever else may be lacking, is the possession of a common tradition, a memory of sufferings endured and victories won in common, expressed in song and legend, in the dear names of great personalities that seem to embody in themselves the character and ideas of the nation, in the names also of sacred places wherein the national memory is enshrined.

" The indestructible nationality of the rude mountaineers of Serbia is not due to race or language or religion, though all of these have contributed to form it, so much as to the proud memory of Stephen Dushan, the tragic memory of Kossova, and the four bitter centuries of slavery that followed it; it is deepened by the memory of the long obscure struggle against the Turks from 1804 to 1829 and enriched by the triumphs of 1912 and 1913; it is made imperishable by the heroic sufferings of the men of 1914 and 1915, by their agony of defeat quite as much as by their victories. Here is the source of the paradox of nationality; that it is only intensified by sufferings, and like the great Antaeus in the Greek fable, rises with redoubled strength every time it is beaten down into the bosom of its mother earth. Heroic achievements, agonies heroically endured, these are the sublime food by which the spirit of nationhood is nourished ; from these are born the sacred and imperishable tradition that make the soul of nations." " No one contributes so much to light the flames of national patriotism as the conqueror who gives it the opportunity of showing that it is inspired by the unconquerable spirit of liberty by whose appeal the meanest soul cannot fail to be thrilled." The fire of German patriotism itself was inextinguishably lighted by the tyranny of Napoleon. Why are the Swiss a nation though made up of detached fragments of three great

[1] Ramsay Muir, Nationalism and Internationalism, p. 48.

neighbour peoples? They are made a nation by the memory of their long common defence of freedom, among the mountains. Once memories of servitude, exploitation and suffering have been branded into the soul of a people, their nationhood becomes indestructible.

Nationality then is an elusive idea, difficult to define. It cannot be tested or analysed by formulae. Its essence is a sentiment and in the last resort we can only say that a nation is a nation because its members passionately and unanimously believe it to be so. No single factor, neither geographical unity nor race, nor language, nor religion, seems to be indispensable to nationhood, and even the possession of common traditions, though the most powerful of all binding forces, need not prevent the inclusion within a nation of elements which do not fully share those traditions. Some, at least, of the ties of affinity the people that claims nationhood must possess, but no one of them is essential or can be used as a certain criterion.

Since it is not solely or even mainly based upon racial homogeneity, nationality can be nursed into existence even where most of the elements of unity are lacking in the beginning. It is often said of India, as formerly of Italy, that she is "only a geographical expression;" yet Italy, that never was a nation even in the days of Imperial Rome, has become one during living memory. So also of Germany might the same expression have been used, yet Germany has sprung one nation from a congeries of separate and often warring states.

The nation must be an ideal before it can become an actuality. The ideal must be preached everywhere. This is the lesson we learn from history. Italian poets sang of their land. Italy as ideal was pictured and chanted until Italian hearts throbbed responsive to Italy as Motherland. Then came Mazzini the idealist, who wrote his words of fire; Garibaldi, the warrior, who drew his sword and battled, and Cavour, the

statesman, who built the Italian polity. Italy was born ; she came from the world of ideas into the world of facts !

The common past must be shown forth and dwelt upon. Education can help tremendously in this direction. History must be taught in every school in a new way. The example of most Western countries suggests that the historians who write for boys should be patriots pulsing with love and pride in the splendid story of their country's past. The oath which young Italy imposed at initiation is a fine specimen of one of the ways to which men have had recourse. "In the name of God and of Italy, in the name of all the martyrs of the holy Italian cause who have fallen beneath foreign and domestic tyranny.....by the love I bear to the country that gave my mother birth, and will be the home of my children.....by the blush that rises to my brow when I stand before the citizens of other lands, to know that I have no rights of citizenship, no country and no national flag by the memory of our former greatness, and the sense of our present degradation by the tears of Italian mothers for their sons dead on the scaffold, in prison, or in exile, by the suffering of the millions.....I swear to dedicate myself wholly and for ever to strive to constitute Italy one free, independent, republican nation."[1] Men who have risen to national fame through service should be held up as examples and ideals in schools all over the country, and citizenship education should be stressed. Prize contests for the composition of national songs, the designing of a national flag, the writing of biographies of national heroes, and the like, are calculated to serve not only the immediate end, but also the remoter purpose of informing the intelligence and developing a sentiment for national unity among students. A host of other ways and means have been, and still are being tried, with not a little success, as one might see in the educational programme for the assimilation of aliens in a country like the United States of America.

[1] Rose, J. H., Rise of Nationality in Modern History, pp. 81-2.

In defence of the sentiment of nationality it may be said, using the language of J. H. Rose,[1] that "The cosmopolitan who sneers at his country and raves about humanity is like a man who disdains the use of stairs and seeks to leap to the first floor. Such efforts have always failed.....Because narrow-minded people can't see beyond their town or country, you do not therefore abolish the organization of the town or country. You retain the organization and seek to widen their outlook. The true line of advance is not to sneer at nationality and decry patriotism, but to utilise those elemental forces by imparting to them a true aim instead of the false aim which has deluged Europe with blood." The reason why nationality has often been a conflict category is because of its tendency to forget the rights and needs of other nationalities. 'My country right or wrong' is an attitude bred by false patriotism and does not make for peace. Nationalism in the West has been the means of mobilization with a view to aggress and conquest, and worse, it is turning some peace-loving countries into military camps. As Tagore picturesquely puts it in his book on Nationalism, the Western nations with their armies and cannon stood before the shores of Japan, and thundered forth saying "Let there be a nation," and a nation was born.

All that we can claim for the rousing of national consciousness in the countries of 'No-nation' is that it is necessary for commanding the hearing of the Councils of the Nations and indispensable for making any worthwhile contribution that may be distinctive of their culture and heritage. The Orient, as a rule, has never cast covetous eyes on other men's land or gold or oil. The keynote of Eastern nationalism, as noticeable in the demands of China and India to-day, is the desire to have a chance to develop in ways which are natural and normal to them, with the hope that, unhampered and unmolested, they may bring their peculiar treasures, as once indeed they did, to the altar

[1] *Ibid.*

of Humanity. One humanity, parting into many peoples, enables it, by their competition and their manifold energies to unfold all those hidden powers which are capable of common development, and to fulfil its destiny more abundantly. In closing, it would not be out of place to quote the sublime conception of nationality expressed by no less a nationalist than Mazzini himself. "Every people has its special mission which will co-operate towards the fulfilment of the general mission of Humanity; that mission constitutes its Nationality."

G. S. KRISHNAYYA

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Bombay.

The annexations of 1818 gave to Bombay a territorial importance similar to that already possessed by the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras. Imposition of salt tax was one of the steps which was needed as much to place the finance of the province on a footing of equality with those of other parts as to supply the ways and means of an improved and expensive administration that must at the same time forego the proceeds of some indigenous forms of obnoxious taxation. But the whole of our present period was to pass away in deliberations and discussions and no action was actually taken till the beginning of the next.

The investigation of the year 1816 showed the practicability of substantial improvement of Government's resources through the levy of such duty on salt as would not bear heavily on the people. On the basis of those returns, the Bombay Government proposed to establish a salt monopoly at the maximum monopoly price of a little more than Rs. 1-13-6 per maund. To safeguard the monopoly, it proposed the imposition of a prohibitory duty on the import of salt into any part of the province and on the transit of all salt through the British territories annexed to the Presidency except on such salt as might be purchased at the Company's sales or depots. The Bombay Government satisfied itself by previous enquiry from Madras, where the conditions were in many respects similar, that the monopoly was working there satisfactorily from every point of view. And we should not forget that the opposition against the Bengal monopoly had not yet become strong though it had begun to make itself felt.

It was in 1823 that the draft of a regulation, embodying the above proposals, was forwarded to the Court of Directors for approval. But the latter turned it down for "in districts recently acquired and still in great measure unsettled, the taxation of an article, necessary to subsistence must be considered as grievous and oppressive." [1]

The question was then dropped, but only for a short while. Early in 1825 the matter was again referred to the Bombay Customs Committee, which was just then appointed. It was taken for granted that the duty was susceptible of increase. The Committee was only asked to suggest, after proper investigation, the highest rate of duty that might be advisable to adopt. Monopoly having meanwhile fallen into discredit, the Government did not contemplate its establishment. The Committee was therefore asked to suggest some other mode of raising the revenue that would be most suitable to the conditions of the country.

After a very assiduous and thorough inquiry, spreading over almost a year, one of the members of the Committee, who was deputed for the purpose, submitted his views in 1826. Mr. Bruce—for that was the name of the gentleman—recommended no drastic change in the method of management which already existed but suggested many minor improvements of very great usefulness. To speak generally, he framed his recommendations with an eye to the establishment of greater freedom of manufacture and trade, to secure as far as practicable, an equality of conditions for all by doing away with all privileges, whether of the government or of favoured individuals and also suggested measures for simplifying the unnecessarily cumbrous process of administering the revenue. He eloquently advocated the urgent need of abolishing the transit duties and proposed in its stead the levy of three duties, of which one was an excise on salt at the rate of 6 *as.* 4 *pies* per maund, being an increase of 90% on

[1] Reply of 11th February, 1824.

the previous rate. Mr. Bruce did not apprehend that the higher duty would appreciably increase the burden since he estimated that the transit duty, collected from salt alone, amounted to nearly a third of the whole amount obtained in that way.

The Bombay Government, on the whole, accepted the recommendations. A draft regulation was prepared in very broad outlines, leaving the important questions, such as the rate of duty and the mode of realizing the revenue, undecided, and was transmitted to the Court of Directors in the middle of 1828.

About the same time in the following year, the Court of Directors communicated their approval of the measure on the distinct understanding that it was merely meant as commutation for the more inconvenient duties of transit and not as adding to the burdens of the people. They had no doubt that the revenue proposed to be raised upon salt would be paid with much less inconvenience by the people than an equal amount in the shape of transit duties.

As regards the undecided points the Court of Directors commended the principle of a uniform excise duty and of the rate proposed by Bruce. "The method," in their opinion, "has great advantages and it is only when local circumstances interfere with the means of protection against the smuggler, that any other plan ought ever to be preferred." They considered the rate of duty suggested by Bruce to be reasonable. "It was not so high as to add materially to the cost of the article even to those, who, from their locality, had been the least subject heretofore to the burthen of the transit duty and would be compensated for to those at a distance from the place of supply by the discontinuance of the transit duty."

In the meantime, the India Government, to which a copy of the draft regulation was sent, had asked the Bombay Government to give a decided opinion of their own regarding the rate of duty and the mode of management. Accordingly in April of

1829, the Bombay Government had despatched another regulation that was definite on those points. The Government had great misgivings about the propriety of a flat rate throughout the Presidency. It had consequently proposed that only a statutory maximum of 13 *as.* 3 *pies* per maund was to be fixed, and the actual rate to be levied would depend upon the circumstances of each locality.

The new regulation received the sanction of the Court of Directors in 1830. It is somewhat curious that the Court had so readily subscribed to the proposition of the Bombay Government since only a decade ago it had discountenanced a similar proposal of the Madras Government as unsound. The Government next started to settle the preliminaries and work out the details. Inquiries were instituted to ascertain the actual rate that was to be levied in each district. The inquiries lasted till 1835.

Meanwhile the publication of Trevelyan's report focussed the attention of all upon the evils of the inland duties as on no previous occasion and the Imperial Government had in consequence to appoint in 1835 a Customs Committee to suggest means for improving the customs revenue of the whole of India.

Since the subject of the Committee's investigation had an important and direct bearing on the question of Bombay salt duty, it was decided to defer the final decision in the matter till the publication of the above-mentioned report. The Customs Committee at first recommended the abolition of inland transit duties and the substitution of a uniform schedule of export and import duties. But when the India Government objected to do away with the inland duties on grounds of financial stringency, the Committee, on second thought, suggested, among other things, the adoption of a uniform excise and import duty on salt in Bombay at the rate of eight annas per maund in order to make up for the loss that would result from

the abrogation of the inland duties in the province. Subsequent discussion as to the actual rate that would be most suited to the conditions of the province proceeded on the new line of a uniform duty thus suggested. The Bombay Government's regulation founded on the principle of a variable rate receded into the background and ultimately proved abortive.

(To be continued.)

PARIMAL RAY

AUTUMN SONG

(After Paul Verlaine)

The long sighs
That arise
From Autumn's violins,
My heart distress,
And weariness
Begins.
O'erwhelmed with rue,
And pallid too,
When the hour's near ;
I call to mind
Day left behind,
And shed a tear.
Then do we go
Where ill winds blow,
I and my grief ;
Till here and there
We're twirled in air
Like a dead leaf.

F. V. W.

INDIAN NATIONALISM AND BOLSHEVISM

A section of Indian Nationalists, in their struggle against British Imperialism, is consciously or unconsciously inspired by what looks like the success of the Russian Revolution. Some of them are admittedly worshippers of "communism" and believe that the Indian Nationalist Movement should, at least in matters of foreign relations, become an adjunct of the Soviet Russian Foreign Policy. They advocate that the Indian National Congress should be *affiliated* with the Anti-Imperialist League, which regards the Indian Nationalist Movement, as represented by the All-India National Congress, as merely capitalistic and concludes that the masses—workers and peasants—of India consequently should not have anything to do with it, but, on the contrary, they should organise an "Anti-Imperialist League" in India towards the ultimate goal of the establishment of a Communist State in India.

These saviours of Indian workers and peasants believe that they should preach and practise " Class War " in India. They are anxious to propagate a doctrine which carried into practice will inevitably lead to civil war in India. Sincere Indian Nationalists should not forget that "civil war" in India was the principal cause of her subjection to foreign rule. They all realise the fact that the spirit of communalism (Hindu-Moslem disunity) is a great obstacle in the way of achieving national unity. *One cannot deny the fact that "communism" as represented by the philosophy of "class war" is a violent form of communalism or tribalism; and it will hinder the cause of national unity in India.*

No doubt, some of the Indian Princes and members of the landed aristocracy and some Indian capitalists have sided with the alien rulers of India and they have shown very little concern for the welfare of the masses. Naturally these Indian

allies of foreign rulers, who are determined to keep India under subjection at any price should not be trusted as leaders or friends of the Indian nationalist movement. But to class Indian intellectuals and rich Indians as a class as enemies of Indian freedom (enemies of Indian workers and peasants) is absolutely untenable from the standpoint of historical facts as demonstrated by the evolution of the Indian Nationalist Movement. No one can deny that the seed of the present Nationalist Movement in India was sown by Indian intellectuals and they were supported by many well-to-do men and women. The history of Indian Nationalist Movement shows that during its infancy more than 99% of those, who had to suffer inprisonment, deportation to the Andaman Islands or had to face the gallows, came from the intellectuals or so-called upper classes and the workers and peasants did not take any part in it. It was the Indian intellectuals who deliberately worked and are still working to instil national and social consciousness into the masses.

The principle which should guide Indian nationalists in their activities for gaining freedom, is not "class struggle" but co-operation among the nationalists of all strata of life to make their country free and independent. National freedom is but a means towards the betterment of the condition of the masses of India. It cannot be denied that the Indian masses are victims of exploitation by Indians of a certain class while the people of India as a whole are being exploited by the British. Yet it will be a criminal folly, if Indian Nationalists at any stage of their struggle for freedom, make "class war" the principal issue or adopt it as their policy and an appropriate means for the attainment of their goal.

The philosophy of "class war" has been the directing principle of the Communist Party in Russia ; and it has been practised through the hierarchy or autocracy of the Soviet State, during the last 15 years, supposedly to bring about a new and ideal social order. It seems that the practice of the philosophy

of "class war" has brought about a new form of tyranny. It may be said that it has produced a new form of reign of terror, denying the right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness for many millions in Russia. The Philosophy of "Class War" practised by the communists has undoubtedly accentuated the present "party wars" among the various brands of communists in all lands, but especially in Soviet Russia. The best example of it, is that Trotsky, once the saviour of Soviet Russia from foreign invasions, once the Commander-in-Chief and founder of the Red Army, is now being regarded as a dangerous counter-revolutionist and has been exiled from Soviet Russia. It cannot be denied that hundreds of Russians who were the pioneers in the movement for the overthrow of the Tsardom, have met with death, because they dared to disagree with the present rulers of Soviet Russia.

Indian masses—workers and peasants—are in abject poverty; and Indian Nationalists must do their best to raise them from their present pitiable condition. But this desired change cannot be brought about by preaching "Class War" or Bolshevism in India. The study of history does not provide one instance that the masses of any country have been raised merely through a successful "class war." But it is abundantly proven in our times that any revolutionary movement which has given undue emphasis to destructive philosophy has ultimately failed in its real purpose of bettering the condition of the masses.

In all revolutionary movements, "mob psychology" plays a very important part. Spectacular demonstrations and "catch-phrases" always rouse the imagination of the masses who are often used by selfish and unscrupulous leaders. During the French Revolution, its leaders approved the policy of the "reign of terror," to crush opposition; but when they tried to stop the excesses, they themselves became the victims of the very "guillotine" which was used against the French aristocrats.

Some Indian political leaders feel that the application of destructive tactics of "Class War" may be an effective weapon against their enemies. They however should not forget that the same weapon might be used against them ; and it may eventually undermine the very existence of the Nationalist Movement. Recovery of Indian freedom and promotion of genuine welfare of the people of India is the ultimate goal of the Indian Nationalist Movement. Therefore Indian Nationalist activities should be directed in such a way as will lead to the harmonising of the varied interests of the various strata of the vast population, affording the best opportunity for the development of national life. If the Indian Nationalist Movement is to become a factor for human progress, then the gravest responsibility for the Indian political leaders lies in the fact that they should not allow it to degenerate into activities for spreading class-hatred or race-hatred.

TARAKNATH DAS

TO DAISY

In the stillness of dusk on my heart lean thy cheek,
And unfold in shy glances the message I seek,
In that language that only fond lovers can speak,
Sad, sad lovers can speak!
Let thy arms cling about me like tendrils of vine,
Like the whisper of leaves let thy life speak to mine
Of that newer, mysterious, sweet secret of thine,
Sweet, sweet secret of thine!
Not my ears but my soul shall attend ever nigh,
Not my lips but my joy-lipped devotion reply,
Not in words, dear my Love? with a kiss, with a sigh,
And a kiss and a sigh!
Put the flute of my self to thy lips young and fair,
That thy breath may breathe life in what died thro' despair,
And its silence shall break into pæans so rare!
Into pæans so rare!

CYRIL MODAK

THE FUTURE OUTLOOK OF THE INDIAN JOINT-STOCK BANKS

III

Hard Times and Depressed Trade.

The prosperity of banks is purely a relative phenomenon mainly depending on the prosperity of its customers. If the depositors and bank customers suffer from a fall in the price of land which they bought at fabulous prices in the boom days of 1921 or if dullness of trade were to prevail in the days of post-war depression, it is bound to tell adversely on the banks also. There is indeed a lot of truth in the above remark. It is only in 1927-1928 that Indian trade and commerce reached their pre-war level. Trade and commerce are feeders to banking and without banking they themselves cannot be fed properly; they are as much dependent on the banks as the banks are on the traders and merchants.

Failures.

Lastly, the incessant and never-ending[1] failures of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks often remind the people of the fact that it is altogether sheer folly to place confidence in such mismanaged

[1] The following table shows the failures of the Joint-Stock Banks in this decade—(see Statistical Tables relating to Banks in India):—

Year.	No. of Banks involved.	Paid-up Capital Rupees.
1918	7	1,46,185
1919	4	4,02,737
1920	3	7,24,717
1921	7	1,25,329
1922	15	3,29,991
1923	20	465,47,325
1924	18	11,33,623
1925	17	18,75,795
1926	14	3,98,145

institutions as the Joint-Stock Banks generally prove to be as soon as their management changes hands from the original set of people. Without the continuity of experienced management a deposit in a bank cannot be considered safe. Repeated failures[1], are shaking the credit fabric of the Joint-Stock Banks. It must be borne in mind that a "system of banks is like a crowded city where a fire breaking out in one house may soon spread to many others and every house has to bear not only its own fire risk but some risks of all the rest." Without a far higher standard of banking prevailing among the Indian Joint-Stock Banks it is impossible to consider the banking structure as a sound and strong one. The present-day Joint Stock Banks are not regarded as national institutions endowed with the trust of the community.

Having seen a correct representation of the difficulties under which the Indian Joint-Stock Banks are labouring, it is the bounden duty to plan the future of the banking system in such a way as to provide a harmonious atmosphere congenial to their rapid development. What then are the remedies needed to cure their weaknesses? Can the Indian Joint-Stock Banks hope to improve their situation by their own efforts and measures in the direction of setting their houses in order? What can an external agency like the Central Bank of Issue hope to do for them? How far would the legislative and administrative action on the part of the Government and the co-operative action of the depositing public and the borrowing customers be of any use to them? Are there any other tentative measures by which it would be possible to help them at the present juncture? A thorough discussion of these varied factors would be impossible within the scope of this short paper.

But the definite programme of banking reform falls broadly under two headings, *viz.*, internal and external. The internal

[1] Quite recently the Karachi Bank failed and a fragmentary acquaintance with the history of Indian Banking would show how the lack of confidence created by bank failures has been a well-marked feature since the second half of the 19th Century.

reorganisation has to be brought about by the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. This is more important than the external aid for without the former the external agency would either decline to lend aid, or even, if it were to be rendered, no lasting and permanent improvement can be achieved in the position of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. An external agency can mend the evils but what is required is a radical cure which can arise out of a proper internal reorganisation.

Of the external remedies the administrative measures of Government, further legislation and a more enlightened public debt policy are given proper attention. The co-operation on the part of the depositing public and the borrowing customers and close co-operation amongst the bankers themselves would go a long way in improving the situation. But the creation of a Central Bank of issue is the proper remedy for many of the present-day defects.

Taking the internal remedy first into consideration the Indian Joint-Stock Banks would have to sacrifice or give up the unnecessarily large holding of Government securities.[1] In their endeavour to incline towards safety they are leaning too much

[1] Broadly speaking the banking policy in the matter of investments is to select liquid and easily realisable securities possessing steady value and a wide market. As gilt-edged securities possess these features the bulk of bank investments consists of Government securities. But these do not form the only item in the matter of investments. If the Bank conducts issuing business the shares of new companies floated by it are generally held by it till the time the investing public digest these shares. Similarly a city bank seeking to extend its operations in the most safe and economical manner tends to acquire shares in the banking companies of the interior and hopes to influence its policy and seek an outlet for its surplus funds. The shares of a foreign banking company might be required so as to affiliate it to itself. This might not be done with the express purpose of conducting foreign banking on any large scale but merely to render more efficient service to its own customers in the direction of financing foreign trade. Indian banks do not generally possess such a wide range of securities and shares of few stable industrial companies form the major constituents of the investment items of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. The acquisition of interests in other banks domestic or foreign is not yet a marked feature of any one of the important Indian Joint-Stock Banks. The daring yet fruitful policy of the Lloyd's Bank or the Barclay's Bank in this direction finds no counterpart in the Indian Joint-Stock Banking System. Too large a part of their investible surplus finds its way into gilt-edged securities. This has to be rectified.

on this support. Sound commercial advances marshalled in a steady succession of maturities are more lucrative than gilt-edged securities. Banks must invest wisely and not speculatively. True wisdom in the matter of bank investment consists in avoiding "frozen assets." The problem of finding adequate business for the released funds would have to be faced. Indirect financing of agricultural interests through approved indigenous bankers or the financing of the small artisans or traders purely on the personal knowledge of the indigenous bankers can provide the needed avenues and unless they care to cultivate more regular business dealings with the indigenous bankers the mere financing of trade and industry in the big centres would not absorb all their liquid resources. The banking net must be spread wider so as to cover a greater area than at present. It is the financial life of the big cities alone that they are able to influence at present. They must descend to rural tracts and hope to influence the lives of the masses in a significant manner. The real problem of Indian Banking is to secure to the Indian Joint-Stock Banks power so as to enable them to control the indigenous bankers and they should themselves be controlled in their turn by the Central Bank of Issue. This is the unity and organic relationship that ought to pervade our banking structure. The present-day loose and unorganised system has to be displaced by a more concentrated and highly integrated banking system.

Secondly as one reputed Professor of Economics stated 'a banker ought to be two-fifths gentleman, one-fifth economist, one fifth lawyer and one-fifth accountant.' Unfortunately the lack of such high qualities renders possible mismanagement of banks. A weak, loose and inefficient audit unable to influence the bankers usually tolerates such inconsistencies, till the day of final reckoning comes when some important incident leads the depositors or lenders of money to doubt of the standing of the bank and the attempt on their part to collect the deposits brings to an end the existence of the tottering bank.

An efficient and expeditious service and the expending of general agency business done by them is sure to bring in greater deposits and more constituents. Banks have to go to the people and not wait for the people to come to them. If sufficient employment for these funds is secured the financial strength of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks is bound to increase. No time should be lost in attempting to reform and reorganise the internal framework on a sound basis. It is not for the sake of mere self-interest that this reorganisation has to be undertaken by the volition and prescience of bankers themselves. Unless this is carried out immediately the mere setting up of any external agencies would not solve the riddle and even these external agencies would consider these Indian Joint-Stock Banks a constant source of anxiety. The help that any external agency would render can bear fruit only under improved management of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. In the absence of any such reorganisation it would tend to postpone the evil day. It is foul financial weather that is the real test of sound banking and I venture to think that without real improvement in the internal management of the banks their position would become strained, if another crisis of the nature of 1913-1915 period were to happen.

External Remedies.

A more enlightened policy on the part of the Government with reference to Rupee loans and the Treasury bills is needed and everything depends on this important reform. It is absolutely imperative that no further suspicion should be roused that the Government is bent on floating further Rupee loans in the Indian money market. The slackened response to the last Rupee loan means after all that it is high time to consider the advisability of proceeding slowly in the matter of capital expenditure on the part of the Government even for productive undertakings. The present market value of gilt-edged securities should not be tossed about hither and thither as a result of the vacillating

public loan policy. Further depreciation of the value of Government securities means further cuts in the profits of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks and the dividends they declare. Lower dividends mean lower deposits. The lower the working capital the lower would be the profits unless it is offset by greater turnover of the capital resources. This is the vicious circle that is being induced by the present-day public loan policy.

Administrative Measures.

Several critics have pointed out the necessity of pursuing a strictly scientific policy in the sale of the Treasury bills. The resort to the Treasury bills as a deflationary measure in order to support the sterling value of the rupee in the slack season is undoubtedly tending to the reduction of deposits available to the Banks. Firm money conditions induced by their sale may succeed in bringing about an improvement in the rate of exchange and maintain it at a safe level. The high rates paid for them as well as the long term loans would mean in the long run greater inroads on the taxpayer's purse.[1] This unnecessary increase of tax-burden when the taxable capacity is so very low has to be borne in mind. It would have an adverse effect on the purchasing power of the people and trade would not recover rapidly as a result of this deflationary policy which of

[1] It is not germane to this topic to discuss the economic effects of public debts. The floating debt even though it might consist of Treasury bills has its effect on the Bankers. Apart from financial danger to the State, the inconvenience to trade and commerce is no less grave. The possibility of habitual renewals tends to make it permanent. This acts as a detriment to banks for their deposits would be cut down and the discount rate would rise. Prices of goods rise and the standard of living tends to become very high. The Banks might hold these safe Government promises and refuse to take risks involved in commercial loans and discounts. It is liable to provoke inflation. Lastly it might lead to grave consequences if renewals of Treasury bills are slackened. Foreign holders of these lose confidence in these certificates and national money and this loss of confidence affects adversely the national rate of exchange.

For a more complete discussion see the Revue de Science et de Legislation Financieres, January-March Number, 1925, pp. 100-102.

See also H. E. Fisk, "French Public Finance in the German War and Today, pp, 15-17. See also H. C. Adams, "Science of Finance, p. 526,

course is due to their anxiety to keep the exchange rate above 1 *s.* $\frac{49}{64}$ *d.* the gold export point from this country. So long as the sterling resources are few there can be no sale of gold exchange or gold at this export point in spite of the Act IV of 1927, Clause V. This perhaps is the reason for the anxiety of the Government not to allow exchange to fall to the low level of the Gold export point from the country.

Legislative Measure.

Another direction by means of which the Government can hope to protect the directors as well as the public lies in passing helpful and suggestive legislation. Government guarantee of deposits or the formation of a "Safety fund" are bound to be mere palliatives and do positive harm to the conservative banks. The possibility of few depositors being selected as bank directors is a remedy which can only be permitted by a change in the existing legislation with reference to the Joint-Stock Banking Companies. Those taxes which are interfering with the development of banking amalgamations should be removed. A readjustment of the other taxes on a lower level than at present would act as a further impetus in the starting of more banks and in view of the fact that the indigenous bankers are to develop into modern banks this recommendation has to be virtually carried out. The possibility of selecting a few other banks "as public depositaries"[1] after exacting due security would have its own efficacy at the present juncture when even the established Indian Joint-Stock Banks are not able to create the needed confidence. It is indeed true that the false tongue of rumour cannot be controlled in any effective manner. Its vivid conjectures can be silenced only by publication of relevant facts indicating the general financial

[1] See the U. S. A. where there are a large number of banks—7,224 acting as public depositaries. See the annual Report of the Treasurer, 1926, p. 604. "One Bank in every four is a Government depositary."

strength of the Banks. The financial intelligence of the reading public can after all be a more effective safeguard than any legislative enactment.

Co-operative Efforts.

The depositing public and the shareholders would have to co-operate with the bank management in every way. If the depositors are taken into confidence by the managing board there is no reason why they ought to get shy of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. Advisory committees of depositors and influential traders to help the branch managers in the matter of investment of bank's funds would be very helpful.

Sometimes the frauds and malpractices which the Banks have experienced from time to time have led to stricter regulation and restriction of credit by the banks with the result that *bonafide* constituents suffer as a result of this vigilant attitude. This attitude should not be mistaken by the *bonafide* constituents.

The Central Bank of Issue.

The starting of a Central Bank of Issue would indeed improve their situation in several ways. Besides providing rediscounting facilities and thereby enabling them to convert their assets easily into liquid cash, a Central Bank is bound to confer inestimable advantages on them in the following directions. A careful scrutiny of the Central Bank, which would be made at the time of rediscounting the eligible commercial paper would automatically raise the standard of banking. The very example of its conservative management would act as an elixir or life-giving tonic to the almost stagnant Indian Joint-Stock Banks of the present day. If the constitutional position of the Central Bank[1] is so devised that it precludes competition

[1] This can be done by confining its business to note-issuing and discounting trade bills of short currency and it would be prohibited from doing ordinary banking business of a commercial bank.

with the commercial banks this by itself would afford an impetus to the Joint-Stock Banks to extend into the interior in their endeavour to secure fresh business. But the starting of a Central Bank would indeed take time. In the interregnum, the Imperial Bank can render some good to the Indian Joint-Stock Banks by hoping to act as a Banker's Bank. There is infinite possibility in this direction and all credit institutions can be granted liberal advances at one per cent. or 1½ per cent. below bank rate on the security of gilt-edges stocks or investments so long as they fail to convert them into liquid resources. It is not by merely lowering the bank rate that the lending policy can be liberalised or made elastic. Less harsh restrictions than are prevailing at present would mean helpful overdrafts to the Indian Joint-Stock Banks and a part of the interest-free national balances secured by the Imperial Bank can be utilised in this manner. This is not entirely a new and dangerous innovation for it is a definite policy of the Imperial Bank to grant accommodation in this manner to business houses and industries. Timely help and succour and not mere spoon-feeding should be the object of this liberalised lending policy. Mere facilitating of internal transfer of funds or remittances at low rates is not by itself a very great help to the Indian Joint-Stock Bank. The starting of more clearing houses is another estimable service for which the Joint-Stock Banks ought to feel grateful to the Imperial Bank. Something further is needed in the direction of cordial relations between the Indian Joint-Stock Banks and the Imperial Bank. Both of them must realise the lessons of the past and be aware of the current developments and current thought.[1]

[1] Even the English Joint-Stock Banks which are considered as "paragons of conservatism" have changed their policy towards industries. Even in America the banks have followed a liberal lending policy. Extended loans and less rigorous insistence in the matter of repayment are evidently a proof of their sincerity that they do not hold a too detached view towards industries as in the past. This elasticity in the matter of lending has to be noticed. See H. W. Macrosty, "Trade and the Gold Standard"—Paper read at the Royal Statistical Society of London, December 18, 1926—Quoted from the London Economist, December 25, 1926, p. 117.

Conclusion.

A clear and consistent action on the part of all the interests concerned is necessary and the co-operation of the different sections would secure to the Indian Joint-Stock Banks a solid ground for their future expansion and economic development of the country. Small Indian Joint Banks or Loan Companies are being started here and there. If the monthly report of the Registrar of the Joint-Stock Companies is examined the activity of the people in this direction can be immediately realised. But in the economic sphere it is not mere quantity but quality that tells. Few sound banks can achieve more lasting good and confer more permanent outstanding benefit on the country than many bogus banks which tend to put back the clock of economic progress. National well-being, price-levels, profits, employment and purchasing power of wages are of essential importance. Their control by a sound banking policy under the capable leadership of a nationally managed Central Bank would secure the welfare and happiness of the teeming millions of this country.

To sum up this survey reveals much that is defective in the present-day situation of the Indian Joint-Stock Bank. To increase their usefulness, self-improvement, external aid and thorough reorganisation of the entire banking structure are pointed out as the measures which can guard them against further deterioration. All parties should co-operate in this endeavour as it is a problem of national importance. The present Joint-Stock Banking system must be made safe, economical, adequate and efficient at the same time so as to afford maximum utility to all sections of the community. Incidentally it can be remarked that the present-day absence of definite trustworthy information or banking statistics has to be remedied as early as possible and such figures as would furnish real information or artfully unfold the tale of banking progress should be published by the different units of our banking system.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

ANCIENT HINDU TRADITION AND THE PRESENT AGE OF THE EARTH [1]

In all civilised countries, through all ages from the very dawn of civilisation, an effort had always been made to answer the question—"How old is the Earth?" Philosophers and astronomers have tried with insatiable zeal and curiosity to arrive at the solution of the problem. Numerous solutions had therefore been put forward from time to time, until very recently after the discovery of radio-activity, the question was finally settled and reliable results were obtained. From the researches of antiquarians it is found that astrologers of Babylon held that the earth could not be more than a million of years old, while Archbishop Ussher deduced from Hebrew writings that the earth was created in the year 4004 B. C. The Persian sages were of opinion that the earth originated about twelve thousand years before, but quite opposite to these limited ideas of a definite beginning, the Hindu astronomers regarded the earth as eternal, it being created, destroyed and recreated again and again through eternal time. The creations and destructions following each other alternately after a definite period known as Kalpa (कल्प) or a day of Brahma.

[1] *Editor's Note* :—So far as the writer uses the modern 'Surja Siddhanta' he is correct; and the age of the earth according to this work, is indeed, (1953720000+2160000+1851+3179=1955885030) 1955885030 years. The current 'Surya Siddhanta' is a very modern book and most probably took its present form, at least, after the time of Brahma Gupta (*circa* 628 A. D.). According to Brahma Gupta in 78 A. D. the age of the earth was 1972947179 years or up to date the age is (1972947179+1851) 1972949030 years. But according to Aryabhata (499 A. D.) the present age of the earth is 1986125030 years. All these theories of Hindu Astronomers are, however, based more or less on the Smritis or rather on the Manu Samhita as we learn from a statement of Brahma Gupta, who was a staunch adherent of the ancient Hindu beliefs. The writer of the paper should therefore have based the Hindu estimate of the earth's age on the Manu Samhita or more ancient Hindu religious works of the same type and not on any one astronomical work like the *modern* 'Surja Siddhanta.' The second part of the thesis is at best a scientific speculation and may be of interest as such.

The Kalpa, which we shall presently see consists of four thousand three hundred and twenty million years—is calculated by the Hindu astronomers to be the period at the beginning and end of which the sun, the moon, and all the planets then known with their nodes and apsides are in conjunction. How—by what process of calculations, this value of the Kalpa was deduced cannot be found in the ancient Hindu astronomical works. It is generally found in all ancient writings of the Hindus that a strict secrecy is observed about the methods and processes of calculations and the results obtained are expressed as so many empirical formulas. In astronomy particularly we find a student is advised to add, subtract, multiply or divide or to perform some other mathematical operations to arrive at the result but no reason whatsoever is mentioned why he should do so.

Now let us see what is said about Kalpa and what is the age of the present Kalpa which must be the age of the present creation or that of the earth. Surya Siddhanta (सूर्यसिद्धान्त) which is believed to be the most ancient treatise on astronomy of the Hindus, gives an idea of Kalpa at the very beginning. The following is the extract from the Surya Siddhanta :—

" A solar year consisting of twelve solar months is a day of the Gods who were supposed to reside on the mount Sumeru (सुमेरु) under the North pole where the day lasts for six months."

" Three hundred and sixty days of Gods make a divine year (दिव्य वर्ष)"

The time containing twelve thousand years of Gods is called a Chatur Yuga (चतुर्युग) or an aggregate of four yugas Krita, Treta, Dwapar and Kali (कृत, त्रेता, द्वापर, कलि) including their sandhis (सन्धि), the periods at the beginning and end of each Yuga."

Thus we find that a Chatur Yuga with its sandhis consists of 4,320,000 years of the mortals.

"The tenth part of this Chatur Yuga, *i.e.*, 432,000 years is a Great Yuga (महायुग) and this Mahayuga multiplied by 4, 3, 2, 1 respectively make up the years of each of the four yugas, Krita and others including their sandhis."

"Seventy-one Mahayugas together with the number of years in a Krita yuga constitute a Manwantara (मन्वन्तर), a period from a beginning of a Manu to its end."

"Fourteen such Manus with their sandhis (a sandhi being equal to 1,728,000 years, *i.e.*, the number of years in a Krita yuga) constitute a Kalpa at the beginning of which is the fifteenth sandhi."

"Thus a thousand of the Great yugas make a Kalpa, a period which destroys the whole world. It is a day of God Brahma (ब्रह्मा) his night being equal to his day."

"The age of Brahma consists of a hundred years according to the enumeration of his day and night. One half of his age has elapsed and this present Kalpa is the first in the remaining half of his age."

Thus from the above tables it is clear that the day of Brahma or a Kalpa[1] is equal to 4,320,000,000 years of mortals.

In the 22nd and 23rd sloka or verse of the same work, Surya Siddhanta, we find that from the beginning of the present Kalpa there have passed away six Manus with their sandhis, and the sandhi which is at the beginning of the Kalpa, 27 Mahayugas and the Kritayuga at the beginning of the 28th. The sum of these is 5,474,400 Deva years, from which if we subtract 47,000 Deva years which were passed by Brahma in creating animate and inanimate objects, the remainder is the time from the beginning of the present order of things before the end of Kritayuga. Thus 5,427,000 Deva years which is equal to $5,427,000 \times 360$ or 1,953,720,000 solar years is the time from the beginning up to the end of Kritayuga. We are now living in Kaliyuga,

[1] This Kalpa, a great period of time, however ridiculous it may seem was of great use for the Hindu astronomers for their calculations of the positions of the heavenly bodies. Mr. W. Brannand in his admirable work, Hindu Astronomy, says: "The Kalpa and its subdivisions although appearing at the first sight so ponderous and ridiculous is really very useful in computations of various astronomical problems for the purpose of reducing errors to a minimum and of ensuring accuracy. In short the Hindus used these great assigned periods much in the same way as we use decimal fractions to eight or nine places when expressing elements relating to planets, the decimal system not being then known."

hence to this we must add 2,160,000 years the period of duration of the Treta and Dwapar Yugas together. Thus the time up to the end of the Dwapar Yuga amounts to 1,955,880,000 years.

Now to find the time elapsed from the beginning of the creation to the present year, to this great number must be added the years that have passed since the beginning of the Kaliyuga. Mr. Bailly and other scholars of ancient Hindu astronomy estimated that the Kaliyuga began at midnight between the 18th and 19th February 3102 B.C. The number of years which have passed from the beginning of the Kaliyuga to the initial day of the present year which is the 14th April, the beginning of the Hindu solar year, the day on which the sun enters the first sign of Zodiac in the first point of Nakshatra Aswini (अश्विनी नक्षत्र) is therefore (3101 and 1929) years or 5;030 years. Thus according to the most ancient Hindu writings the age of the present creation is 1,955,885,030 years, which may be taken to be two thousand million years approximately.

Now let us see what is the age of the earth as estimated from the most recent scientific investigations. There *are* a number of standpoints from which this problem may be attacked. [1] Here since our space is limited we shall deal with a few of them. The geologists approached the problem from the consideration of the formation of rocks. The rivers, streams, fountains and other natural outlets carry away the rock waste and sooner or later it is deposited. The upper levels of the earth's surface are being constantly attacked and worn out by denundations while depressions are being steadily filled up by depositions of sediments. By measuring the amount of sediment deposited by a river near its mouth every year it was thought possible to find the age of the particular land through which

[1] An account of almost all the methods and consideration to solve the problem is very nicely put in by Dr. Arthur Holmes in his little volume,—"The Age of the Earth" from which book the writer of this article has derived great help.

the river flowed. But there are other things which ought to be taken into consideration. First the deposition is not uniform year after year, secondly there are violent catastrophes such as earthquakes, volcanoes, floods and other terrible convulsions of nature. The result obtained, therefore from the above consideration is not so reliable. It was after the discovery of radio-activity that reliable results were obtained.

In the year 1896, the French physicist Becquerel discovered that minerals containing an element uranium or its salts give out rays that can pass through some opaque substances such as a sheet of black paper, and can produce an effect on a photographic plate wrapped within the black sheet. Mme. Curie following the above remarkable discovery found later on that another element, thorium, and its salts have also the same property of sending out rays capable of penetrating black sheets of paper and effecting photographic plates. She also observed that some substances containing uranium such as pitch-blende were far more active in their emission of rays than could be accounted for by the amount of uranium present. This led her to the discovery of radium and other radio-active substances.

Sir Ernest Rutherford then showed that the radiations that are emitted from radio-active substances are of three kinds :—(*i*) the Alpha rays (α-rays) which were found to be electrically charged atoms of a gas known as helium but ejected with a great velocity, (*ii*) the Beta rays (β-rays) which are nothing but electrons having a still greater velocity than those of the Alpha-rays and (*iii*) the Gamma rays (γ-rays) which are identical with X-rays or Röntgen rays of very small wave-lengths. Now it is clear that an atom on losing these α, β and γ-rays cannot remain the same as before but is changed into a new atom. Thus from a radio-active element other elements are constantly being formed as a result of these rays being given out. From Uranium after the discharge of these rays in several stages we get radium, a very radio-active element, which in turn decays, *i.e.*, gives out rays of the above three kinds and

ultimately an end-product is left which is chemically identical with the element lead. The whole family is then in a state of equilibrium and then there is a constant ratio between the parent element and each of its offsprings. The ratio of Uranium to radium for example is 3000000 to 1 and this explains why radium is so rare in Earth.

By disintegration of one atom of uranium we get eight atoms of helium and one atom of lead. Since helium and lead are stable, these two elements accumulate as their parent uranium is slowly destroyed. Thus every radio-active mineral acts as a natural chronometer by registering time by the atoms of helium and lead that are produced unceasingly within it year after year. The ultimate change of uranium into lead may be represented as follows :—

U	=	Pbμ	+	8 He	+	Energy
(Uranium)		(lead)		(Helium)		
238·2		206		8×4		

i.e., from 238·2 parts of uranium 206 parts of lead and 32 parts of helium are obtained. From the rate of production of helium from uranium it is calculated that a million grams of uranium produce $\frac{1}{7400}$ of a gram of lead (called uranium lead)every year. Thus in a mineral if the ratio between the uranium lead (P$b\mu$) that has accumulated and parent uranium (U) be found out by careful analysis, then the time required for this accumulation must be

$$\frac{Pb\mu}{U} \times 7400 \text{ million years.}$$

Thorium similarly disintegrates through a closely analogous manner to that of uranium, helium and lead called thorium lead (P$b\theta$) being produced ultimately.

Th	=	P$b\theta$	+	6 He	+	Energy
Thorium		lead		Helium		
232		208		6×4		

i.e., from 232 parts of thorium 208 parts of thorium lead and 24 parts of helium are obtained. The rate of production

of helium from thorium shows that a million gram of thorium give rise to $\frac{1}{19500}$ of a gram of thorium lead in a year. Thus the time required for the accumulation of thorium lead ($Pb\theta$) in a mineral is given by

$$\frac{Pb\theta}{Th} \times 19{,}500 \text{ milllon years or } \frac{Pb\theta}{\cdot 38\ Th} \ 7{,}400 \text{ million years}$$

where $Pb\theta$ and Th are the percentages of thorium lead and the parent thorium in the mineral.

When both uranium and thorium are present in the same mineral as is usually the case then the time required for the accumulation of lead (both uranium and thorium lead) in the mineral

$$= \frac{Pb}{U + \cdot 38\ Th} \times 7400 \text{ million years,}$$

where Pb, v, and Th are the percentages of lead, uranium and thorium respectively in the same mineral.

Thus by finding the ratio $\frac{P}{U + \cdot 38 Th}$ which is known as lead ratio of a radio-active mineral the age of the mineral can be estimated. Radio-active minerals from different parts of the world have been collected and analysed and from their lead ratios their ages have been calculated. These ages are found to be different for different samples but ranging from a few to 1,500 million years. The oldest radio-active minerals indicate that the age of the Earth must be greater than 1,500 million years.

From astronomical considerations also the age of the Earth has recently been calculated. According to the tidal theory of the origin of the Solar system which was worked out by Dr. J. Jeans and further developed by Dr. H. Jeffreys, the newly born planet must have moved in a highly eccentric orbit in a gaseous medium. The orbits were made more and more circular due to the resistance offered by the medium through which the planet moved. The orbit of Mercury is more eccentric

than that of any other planet. From this fact Dr. Jeffreys calculated that the time T required to reduce the orbit to the present shape would be $\frac{4000}{D}$ seconds where D is the density of the gaseous medium arround Mercury. But the medium has almost disappeared and the time, t, required for this to be so is calculated to be $16D \times 10^{29}$ seconds. Since T and t are practically equal, the age of the universe is calculated to be

$$T = t = \frac{4000}{D} = 16D \times 10^{29} = 8 \times 10^{16} \text{ seconds} = 2500 \text{ million years (approximately)}$$

Another method of calculating the age of the earth is based on the assumption that the moon originated from the Earth when it was in a molten state. The ocean tides are produced, it is well known, by the attraction of the moon and consequently the friction produced by the tides are gradually slowing down the rotation of the earth and thus the moon is retreating from the earth. The time required for the present distance to be produced between the earth and the moon is, as calculated by Dr. Jeffreys, about a few thousand million pears.

Still another method, very recently put forward, is based on the consideration that the whole solar system is moving slowly across the void of space towards another greater sun. Assuming that this solar system originated from the Milky Way where the stars are more thickly crowded together, the present rate of movement leads us to infer that about 2,000 to 3,000 million years before this journey of the solar system must have commenced.

Considering all the above evidences and other estimates about the age of the earth, as is given by Dr. A. Holmes and other geologists, its age may be taken to be between 1,000 and 3,000 million years, or taking the mean we may say that it is 2,000 million years old. It is remarkably surprising and a matter of great gratification to us, the Indians, that the results of the

calculations of the ancient Hindu astronomers about the age of the earth as is found in Surya Siddhanta which, it is believed, must have been compiled at least a thousand years before the Christian era, are in so close a coincidence with the most recent estimates about the same. Naturally therefore one is inclined to think that their prediction that the present creation would be destroyed at the end of the Kalpa that is to say 2,320 million years hence, may also be fulfilled.

D. BHATTACHARYA

THE CYDNUS

(*After the French of de Hérédia*).

In glittering sunlight under prosperous skies,
The silver trireme froths an ebon river ;
Fumes as of incense from her wake arise.
With sound of flute and stir of silks a-quiver;
And at the falcon-headed prow that gleams,
Out from her royal dais tensely bending,
In sumptuous evening Cleopatra seems
A great gold bird her distant prey attending.
For they're at Tarsus, and her warrior there
Weaponless waits. She opens to the air
Passionate arms whose purple sleeves disclose
Rose-tinted amber flesh. But she sees not
So near her. Love and Death her fated lot—
On the grey waters casting a ravished rose.

F. V. W.

POEMS OF INDIA

I.—A Blue Bead found in a Temple.

I found a bead of turquoise-blue,
Dropped from some necklace of the Past;
Perhaps it clasped in buried years,
A maiden's throat of ivory hue.
A Deva-Dasi, Slave of Gods,
Whose form moved with a sinuous charm
In measures of an ancient dance,
To plaintive flutes and drum-throbs.
Perhaps once in this self-same place
She danced with tinkling ankle-bells.
And scattered scent of sandal-wood,
Or gave men of her lissome grace.
All turned to dust, her smiles and tears,
The dance is done, the dancer mute ;
Still on the broken altar-steps
The blue bead lingered through the years.

II.—Indian Pastoral.

A shepherd-boy, with a staff and a flute,
Watches a flock of brown and dusty sheep
That browse on the jungle-grass in a field.
He sees the high white clouds go sailing by,
And wonders whence they come and where they go
He hears the sudden song of a bulbul
Burst in a golden shower of melody,
And he tries to catch the song in his flute.

He watches a shy little fox that darts
From the edge of the wood across the road,
And he feels that he would like to be free,
To run and follow the fox to its lair;
His father has told him to guard the sheep,
And see that the lambs did not run away,
Or he'd go supperless to bed that night:
So he sighs, and takes up his little flute
And plays a wistful tune, putting his thoughts
In music, as the hours drift by, and the
Cool shadows lengthen on the grass at dusk.
Then he picks up his staff and calls his flock,
And soon they all go down the winding road,
The sheep, shepherd, and his childish dreams.

LY S. ANDERSON

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INDIAN CURRENCY

"In every civilised country in modern times a number of different coins of different values are in circulation together. These have certain relations to one another which are fixed by law; and these coins in their relationship as established by Government are spoken of as the currency system of the country. The coins composing a currency system usually consist of three or four metals—gold, silver, nickel, copper or bronze."

STANLY JEVONS

The above definition may be found incomplete as the currency systems of the civilised world, to-day, have reference to paper money as well as metallic money; and India is surely not an exception to this general rule. It is well known that the present-day Indian currency consists of metallic money and paper notes.

"We might however with perfect reason widen our definition of currency to include everything either of metal or paper commonly accepted in payment of goods and services." —*G. F. Shirras.*

In the primitive ages the problems of money were few and very simple. It was a device to facilitate exchange transaction by removing the inconveniences of barter among families or individuals in a tribe or a Parish. Thus its circle of operation was limited and its functions were not much complex or complicated.

But in the modern age, with the world-wide extension of the international trade, the problems of currency for every country are not only internal but also external and extremely complicated. In the case of India, because of the particular political status of the country, the currency problems seem almost to be insoluble. The Indian currency system is, in

addition to the ordinary internal and international problems, is to cope with the delicate situation of the relation between the Indian money and that of England. The currency of this dependent country cannot be arranged without any reference to the English currency and the British trade. Thus the special feature of the system is that, at least in its external aspect, it is complicated by problems which are not merely economic but also political in their nature. The well known remark of Prof. Nicholson that "the gold exchange standard system is available only for a dependent country" very aptly expresses the above-mentioned feature of the Indian system.

The same politico-economic difficulty of the Indian currency has been expressed in a rather strong and exaggerated language by Mr. S. K. Sarma in the introduction of his Indian Monetary Problems" :—

"The complexities are particularly striking in India. A mother country strongly wedded to Gold monometallism.....a dependency which insists upon consuming as much of the white metal as possible...a bureaucracy which has to ship 18 millions of sterlings to the dominant state...a mercantile community which never forgets its domicile but is vociferous enough to influence the currency policy of the Government...and an indifferent mass of 300 millions which is indifferent to...the manipulation of the monetary system by the irresponsible bureaucracy these are some of the factors to make the monetary problems what they are."

Thus the Indian currency system may be said to have in it three different sets of problems for treatment and solution. The Internal, the International, and the Indo-British.

Of course the above sets of problems cannot be regarded as altogether detached from each other. The internal problem of price or value of money cannot but be related to the international value of the basic metal or the purchasing power parity of the standards in the world market. The international problem of exchange affects the internal price of commodities of

export or import; and the Indo-British problem of regulating the Indian currency, with a view to the imperial country's interests, affects the internal situation, the price-level and the rate of interest. Yet there may be a necessity for separating the problems into different classes for special attention and minute study.

I. The Internal Problems of the Indian Currency.

From their very nature they cannot be much different from those of the Currency system of the other nations. The question of the stability of the price-level or the value of money is universal. But India is vast in area; her communication is undeveloped; her seasonal variation in the demand for money is of peculiar significance, her people are ignorant and unenlightened in the principle and practice of the modern currency; her banking system is in its infancy; there is no good provision for automatic increase or decrease of the money circulation at the needs of the internal trade and at the initiation of the people; and ultimately the system is thoroughly artificial and without, at least up to a recent date, any natural metallic basis.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the Government and the people of India were much troubled by the internal high prices and the falling value of the rupee; and recently the difficulty of "moving the internal trade" in its seasonal variation has become acute.

II. The International Problems of the Indian Currency.

The international problems of the Indian Currency have been much complicated by the prevalence of an artificial standard of value in the country. The silver rupee and paper mostly based on it are the current money, but silver is not the standard of value. The so-called gold standard is only a name without any real significance. Because gold is neither coined on the presentation of bullion, nor the value of commodities in the country has any direct or practical reference to it. Gold was only, up to the recent reform, made available in England for

international purposes through an elaborately artificial process. But even that arrangement had to be abandoned for sometime *after the war*; and for the time being *there* was no other alternative but to calculate the rate of exchange by comparing the value of the token rupee with that of the paper sterling of England which was again an extremely variable token dependent on the American dollar which might then be regarded as the metallic standard of value for India's foreign transactions. The recommendation for the introduction of the gold bullion standard by the Hilton-Young Commission has not improved the situation much in this respect. Still the rupee and the notes have remained the only internal currency; still there is no coinage free or gratuitous in India; still the rate of exchange is not automatic and natural but artificial and managed; and still the controversies *re* interested manipulation, artificial rate and the location of the reserves are troubling the experts and merchants. In a word the gold bullion standard with its obstructive clause to the free interchangeability between the standard and the token inside the country is far away from the orthodox and effective gold standard, which may be the only solution of the difficulties.

III. The Indo-British Problems.

These are uniquely peculiar to India and have their origin in the political status of the country as a dependency of the United Kingdom.

India is bound to make considerable payments to England which are not of the nature of dues in course of ordinary mercantile transactions. She is to pay for compensating the losses of her European salaried administrators due to exchange fluctuations. She is to pay interest on her sterling debts; she is to pay in sterling for the expenses of an unusually large number of her countrymen in England who are compelled to go there for various reasons, and she is to provide currency suitable to the convenience of the English merchants in an extraordinary way through the good offices of her Secretary of State in

England. In this connection Mr. Chablani says, "the Indian standard of value is at the mercy of the currency changes in England."

At present the important issues in the study of the Indian currency are :

(1) Whether an orthodox—genuine and effective—Gold standard (with gold currency in circulation) is not the best system to remove the difficulties that accompany the present managed currency.

(2) Whether the artificial fixing of the rate of exchange has not caused commercial and economic injury to the country by affecting the natural flow of imports and exports and by interfering with the industry of the country in the way of protection or benevolence to either the home or the foriegn industries concerned in the Indian market.

(3) Whether the heroic attempts in the past to maintain the artificial rate have not caused much denudation in the gold stock of India and whether similar contingencies cannot be feared in future.

(4) Whether there is something like the elements of an insidious taxation in the system.

(5) Whether the foreign exchanges of India (in relation to other countries than England) are not unduly and unnecessarily complicated.

(6) Whether the present currency principle of note issue is conducive to the soundness of the monetary system in India or whether the banking principle should be introduced.

(7) Whether the system of the artificially fixed exchange can ever finally solve the currency problems of India.

A. K. SARKAR

KING LEAR

II

King Lear opens quietly and familiarly. Gloucester introduces his son, Edmund, to Kent. They talk as men do when they meet casually, and by the way tell us that Lear has divided his kingdom between his two sons-in-law. The Lear family and court enter, and in this scene Cordelia refuses to bid for Lear's wealth. When her sisters make false profession of their love she says in an aside :

"What shall Cordelia speak? Love, and be silent."

Shakespeare presents her refusal as boldly as he dare. The French King accepts her for his bride, and the scene closes with Goneril and Regan determining to "hit" together to keep their old father under. This scene awakens our interest and prepares everything for the conduct of the play, but has no great emotional effect. Except when he goes out of his way to impress us with his openings, Shakespeare often runs a few paces on level ground before he springs off ; it takes a moment to get up an impetus.

Scene ii puts the parallel plot in readiness as Scene i does the principal. The air vibrates with "child and parent," "unnaturalness between child and parent." It anticipates the Lear sorrow like a forward shadow. The deep tone of terror sounds first in Gloucester's reference to the eclipse. Edmund carries the symbols of this threat into his talk with Edgar. It is the first unsettling, the cutting of the cables, the whistle to prepare us for departure.

Now that Shakespeare has set his plots going, he writes his first really dramatic scene. The action so far has merely prepared us. We have experienced an initiary alarm and foreboding ; there is uneasiness in the air, but nothing to touch

us yet. Then comes a short scene, written from the dramatic atmosphere almost like the battlement scene in *Hamlet*, or the witch scenes in *Macbeth*. We see that in the child which must hurt the parent, the wrench which will break the bond of parenthood, and we feel that it is a strong thing which will have its way: Goneril instructs Oswald how to insult and annoy her father.

In the next scene, the entrance of Kent gives relief. He comes with the quiet sense and the health of ordinariness to keep us conscious of the unhealth of those around, to right the balance of the play. Lear then enters in unballasted imperiousness:—

> "Let me not stay a jot for dinner; go get it ready."

then seeing Kent,

> "How now! what art thou?"

He is strung too tightly. Shakespeare's kings are usually kingly and control their feelings in public; they wear gloves. Lear is bare-handed even that we may see the nerves twitch:

> "Where's my Fool, ho? I think the world's asleep."

It is pitiful too. The gentle whimsical trustfulness in "I think the world's asleep," which shows also the rate of his pulse, makes us love him in his peevishness. Nor is his reproof of his servant kingly.

> "O, you sir, you, come you hither, sir: who am I, sir?"
> *Oswald*: "My lady's father."
> *Lear*: "My lady's father! my lord's knave: you whoreson! dog! you slave! you cur!"

Then in contrast with Lear's blustering helplessness, Kent quietly sends the servant away. Enter the Fool, a mixture of tender bitterness and shrewd foolishness...To them comes Goneril. One would call her a "strong-minded woman," a woman unsoftened by compassion or sympathy, cold-bloodedly harsh; her cruelty is part of a calculated policy, not a passion

like Regan's. She speaks dignified, unimpassioned words ; she need not bluster to awaken respect ; she has the hard air of unmelted authority ; there is no appeal in her ; she is as a rock, insensible. Lear asks in amazement :

"Are you our daughter ? Come, sir,"

Goneril : "I would you would make use of that good wisdom
Whereof I know you are fraught, and put away
These dispositions that of late transform you
From what you rightly are."

Perfectly polite !...Albany enters ; his ineffectual kindness gives a sort of human pliancy to the marble of his wife, and helps to make the situation seem more probable...Finally Lear, unable to bear Goneril's cruelty longer, curses her lustily, trotting off and on the stage to have another 'go' at her, and eventually sets out for his other daughter, Regan. Our sympathy swings out to him. We no longer reserve it remembering the other side. We forget the folly of this irritating old man and the injured Cordelia.

In the last scene of the Act Shakespeare states the 'idiom,' to borrow the terminology of a kindred art, that he means to develop in the great storm scenes, a trio of sane man and fool and Lear. The old king ponders his folly, and with despair, the ingratitude of his daughters, his reason is overwhelmed, his passion exhausted; it is past endurance, the reaction unnerves him too much. More he cannot stand.:

"O, let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heaven !
Keep me in temper : I would not be mad !"

he cries.

Act II. The last scene was sharply painful. For relief Shakespeare turns to the other semi-circle of his world, to Edmund, the Goneril of his plot, and Edgar, the Cordelia. Edmund betrays Edgar to Gloucester on a false charge. Edgar flies and Gloucester is all pain at his perfidy. Cornwall and

Regan arrive suddenly to visit Gloucester, who tells them of Edgar's villainous intent. Regan, as someone remarks, has more venom than Goneril, or as Bradley says, she is more petty;[1] the venom fungus grows only in petty hearts. Goneril, who is neither petty nor venomous, does not delight in the cruelty she takes for her policy, and indulges no gleeful resentment. Regan's cruelty comes from a positive, virulent hatred, yet she is less terrible with her hot hatred than Goneril with her cold. To keep the balance swinging, Regan's husband is strong and hard.

The next scene makes the comic interlude, all that there is of comic interlude. Though they contrast with the tragedies in which they stand, Shakespeare's comic scenes form an integral part of their play; they are not interchangeable. The uncouth, newly awakened, remotely rough feeling of the Porter's scene is suitable to *Macbeth* alone; the whimsical mystery of the graveyard scene with its plaintive jesting at the portals of death, could belong only to *Hamlet*. So too, this scene is peculiar to the tone of *Lear*. It strums its humorous tinkle on a cracked bowl. Since Shakespeare cannot make a vivid contrast he lets the tragic atmosphere soak into the comedy. It shows a common brawl, but blunt honesty and deceit are the disputants; the cause of it is Lear; into it come Regan and Cornwall, who put Kent in the stocks because he is the just man; it ends as a beam from Cordelia's name steals over the stage like dawn, while Kent sleeps.

Scene iii merely announces that Edgar is going to disguise himself as a mad beggar to escape his enemies.

Scene iv brings Lear, the fool and an attendant to Kent. Lear still quivers from his last blow. Seeing Kent in the stocks he gtes him another shock. His anger swells up too fiercely. His second daughter refuses to admit him, and he wears himself out once more in an indignant passion. Finally

[1] *Vide* this scene.

Regan enters to receive her father's curse and Goneril arrives. His love shines out of his pain beautifully and tenderly; to Goneril he says,

> 'I prithee, daughter, do not make me mad,
> I will not trouble thee, my child; farewell."

Helpless and cast off, he turns as all who are helpless must, to

> "You heavens, give me that patience I need?"

Regan withdraws her suite from the rain. The bolts shoot home and shut out the storm and Lear.

"Act III, Scene i. A heath" opens dismally. It lours in a mizzling drizzle. Its wet hopelessness settles over the stage, preparing a sodden pathway for Lear. Though more carefully disguised than usual, this is an engine-room scene, its business to move the play forward by feeling of Cordelia's landing.

In Scene ii Lear raves with the storm. He sees the lightning and hears the thunder as symbols of his unkind fate, the hardness of his daughters turned to fire and noise, but the dampness of his clothes chilling him he does not feel. The Fool stands shivering beside, complaining of the cold:

> "Good uncle, in, ask thy daughters' blessing; here's a night pities neither wise man nor fool."
>
> "He that has a house to put's head in has a good headpiece."

he chatters. But Lear is abstracted:

> "No, I will be the pattern of all patience. I will say nothing."

Kent shivers in neither a physical chill nor a mental. He enters with a comment on the weather. He notices Lear's physical discomfort: "Alack bare-headed." But Lear's trouble has got beyond his help. It sometimes gives unpractical people a sweet unpardonable satisfaction to see the limitations of an all sufficing practical man becoming a limitation in practice. We see this in Kent. He is as gentle as he can be with Lear, but he has come against a problem beyond his. Nevertheless

his healthful presence turns off the gloom for a little even stimulating Lear :

> " My wits begin to turn."—

and turning to the Fool—

> " Come on, my boy; how dost my boy? art cold?
> I am cold myself,
> * * * * * *
> Poor fool and knave, I have one part in my heart.
> That's sorry yet for thee."

The 3rd scene goes back to Gloucester's Castle. Although it gives relief from the oppression of the moor, it is but the threat of the moor heard in the closet. Gloucester knows of Cordelia's landing and favours her. Edmund determines to betray the secret for his own advantage. This is another of those scenes which create an impression of action. It gives a glimpse of movement in the midst of the stationary heath, thus having an emotional significance also. The heath fills us with a dazed dread ; its monotony would soon wear down our nerves if we had no escape. This in Gloucester's Castle, with its mixture of hope and fear excites us, takes us out of the mist for a moment before we relapse into its wet hopelessness, there to meet that grinning horror, when the raving Bedlamite adds yet another to its sufferers.

" Scene iv. The heath. Before a hovel. Enter Lear, Kent, and Fool." :—

Lear will not take shelter; he does not feel the rain. Kent is overpowered and numbed in sympathetic misery. One tangible aim absorbs him. " Good my lord, enter," he beseeches after every burst of Lear's misery. But he does not know how to wean Lear from his absorption; he lets him slip into himself and move away from human reach. Lear's reason

snaps when Edgar rushes out in feigned madness; he does not give the same man's recoil, but questions:

> "Didst thou give all to thy two daughters? and art thou come to this?"

The feigning madman answers with a reasonable sort of rubbish. Lear is amazed:

> "What, have his daughters brought him to this pass?"

Lear's mind is fixed. Edgar almost hypnotises him into lunacy, appearing to the distracted king as the naked, primeval man, the real thing. He will off with his clothes too, and be another real man:

> "Come, unbutton here."

The Fool breaks in:

> "Prithee, nuncle, be contented; 'tis a naughty night to swim in.'

Kent is dumb. He is dumb possibly not so much by Shakespeare's human insight, as by dramatic. He stands aside and is forgotten. Had he joined the trio, his infectious sanity would have prevented our slipping on with Lear in sympathy and comprehension, and indeed, as it is, there is danger of our not doing that. When Gloucester enters we turn abruptly to him, and when next we return to Lear, he has slipped beyond us, become a picture, but so skilfully has Shakespeare managed it that we do not feel the change abrupt.

Scene v, Gloucester's Castle, leaves the twilight of innocent madness for the hard glare of devilish wrong-doing: Edmund betrays his father. This scene gives a sensation of movement, as if we took another step in the play.

> "Scene vi. A chamber in a farmhouse adjoining the castle."

Again the sad music of discord. Just when Kent has persuaded Lear to rest, Gloucester enters and warns them all to flee. Like a leaf bumped about by the wind, bruised and tattered, Lear drives on.

Scene vii opens with a scurrying and ordering of horses and despatching of letters. They bring Gloucester before Regan and Cornwall, and his eyes are put out. So far we have been under a drizzle, and have become depressed with a mumbling, grumbling, inert sort of misery. Then comes this cruel point of pain. It is like the agonized cry we hear in the woods at night when something terrible has happened. I do not know what animal suffers, but it is the most horrible cry that ever rose out of the dark. Yet it gives us a sort of relief. We can hardly stand more of the grim monotony of the heath, of this murmuring gloom. It must stop; but how? Shakespeare cannot just let it drop; its tune has got into our ears and will continue distressing us. He must *break* it off; he must clear away the depression, kill this haunting misery by a feeling more vivid. So he brings Gloucester in and turns the knife till we reach a crisis of agony. Then he can drop it; he has brought the pain to a head and finished it. After this the play is no longer depressing. The atmosphere breaks up, the air clears. It is worth being burned to feel the coolness of the healing oil; Gloucester's agony has purification in it.

Act IV, on the heath, but not the mist oppressed, sulphurously stormy heath of the former act. Here Edgar meets his blind father, and we have an artificial sense of motion again. Shakespeare does not use the meeting for dramatic effect; that would be too much on the top of the last act; he lets the obvious "possibilities" slide.

In Scene ii Albany, shocked at his wife's cruelty, turns away from her. He is to the Gloucester-Edmund side of the play what Kent is to the Lear, the ordinary man, or "chorus," through whom we keep in touch with the play. The essential of Kent's character is his commonsense; his sanity holds the balance against Lear. Albany's essential is decent-heartedness; his common humanity holds the balance against Goneril and her crew. Shakespeare treats his 'normal'

characters individually in *Lear*. In the other tragedies they come to reassert the balance. Macduff and Banquo do not dispute the stage with Macbeth, nor does Horatio with Hamlet. They act as foils, or come forward in the recoil when the protagonists have weighed the balance too heavily. Albany and Kent prevent the chief actors from absorbing our sympathy; even in a crisis they keep us cool, so that we watch from the pageant attitude, moved *by* the protagonists rather than moving *with* them. Albany's defection is important to the plot in allowing the direction of the play to fall into Goneril's hands, just as Cornwall is disposed of to let it fall into the hands of Regan. We now discover that Goneril is in love with Edmund, a curious quirk in the psychology of the play, this infatuation of the monster sisters, necessary not so much from their psychology as in the construction of the plot, to give a motive for their reciprocal destruction.

Scene iii, in the engine room, gives the play a 'shove' on, but its poetry hides the dramatic purpose so well that we hardly notice the prosaic necessity to which it is incidental.

Scene iv brings Cordelia on the stage. Some one has seen her father decked with noisome weeds, singing through the meadows, and she promises :

> " He that helps him take all my outward worth."

generosity with its reservation! One would almost think she was a Calvanist, so careful is she of her soul. A messenger enters to tell that the hosts of Goneril advance.

> *Cordelia*: " 'Tis known before ; our preparation stands
> In expectation of them."

No protestation of love, no ungoverned grief, no excitement at a crisis disturbs Cordelia's flower-like serenity.'

Scene v returns to the other side, to Regan and Oswald, and anxiety and suspense. The innocent sufferer owns a more

easy mind than the victorious wrong-doer; Cordelia is happier than her sisters. By now Shakespeare has worked off his spleen; having passed the crisis in Gloucester's agony, he breathes that calm, which comes when pain has gone and is not too distant from the repose of happiness.

"Scene vi Fields near Dover" intensifies our impression of the loveliness of innocent sorrow, and turns it into a picture. The atmosphere is clear, and in an English meadow studded with daisies and cowslips, between English hedges and under a blue summer sky stand blind father and disguised son. Its peace comes over us like the scent of meadow-sweet in the south country. Yet it is withal pensive as an English meadow can be. We needed something to ease the strain we have been bearing, and the mere loveliness of this scene does it; it is like a walk in the fields when the heart is heavy. Nature is the greatest persuader to optimism, and here for our relief we wander. Edgar stands on a green knoll beside his father, and Shakespeare, thinking of some summer holiday by the shore, describes the cliffs at Dover. The music suggests rather rippling waves than a swelling sea:

> "the murmuring surge
> That on the unnumbered idle pebble chafes
> Cannot be heard so high."

Gloucester speaks what he thinks will be his last words and they are calm as a summer pool. He casts himself over the cliff that Edgar has imagined. Edgar picks him up and uses his imagination again to lead his father to contentment. The poor old man, defrauded of escape by suicide, can hardly feel grateful to the providence that rescued him, but his acquiescence has an idyllic simplicity. One gets the impression of a very old, mild, white-haired man, lacking the vital energy to contradict. It is the sadness and feebleness of old age on a sunny day. Lear enters fantastically garlanded, and makes another figure in the

picture. His talk has no direction, running vaguely about. He sees Gloucester :

> " Ha ! Goneril—with a white beard ! "

and for a moment the excitement gives him a wild coherence. Gloucester awed, exclaims :

> " O ruined piece of nature ! This great world
> Shall so wear out to nought."

This is the key to our awe of Lear ; he is not so much a small piece of humanity out of tune with the world, as a symbol of the huge world itself, run down. The most disturbing of discords now breaks into this tune in a quiet minor—Lear unwittingly strumming on the theme of Gloucester's eyes, and Edgar overpowered :

> " I would not take this from report ! it is,
> And my heart breaks at it."

Exit Lear. Enter a gentleman who moves the play forward by announcing that a battle between the Goneril and Cordelia factions takes place within earshot. The noise breaks and rolls over the sunlit fields. Gloucester hearing it, feels anew his helplessness. The battle comes nearer. Oswald runs in, sees Gloucester, whips out his sword, but is slain by Edgar, into whose hands falls a letter to Edmund from Goneril declaring her witch love for him. The sound of battle again breaks into the sunshine, and Edgar leads his father gently away.

Scene vii, Lear at last in bed asleep, soft music playing, gentlemen and others attending. This is the most melodious scene in the play. It has the calm of a day dream. Attendant on Lear are filial love, staunch friendship, and healing wisdom. They will awake him with music.

In Act V the first scene starts one of those stage battles, which Shakespeare, or his Elizabethan audience, are so fond of. It contrasts strongly with the last scene. There Cordelia

tending Lear in harmony, here jealousy and distrust and intrigue; there all united unselfishly to cure the unhappy king, here all selfishly opposed. I do not think that Shakespeare planned the contrast ; it is too palpable. Edgar enters and gives Albany the letter proving the intended infidelity of his wife. The sisters are jealous of each other, both in love with Edmund, plotting hate—and he ? Calmly deliberating which it is to be, or if both, or if neither. That is to say Shakespeare does not care what Edmund thinks, but we must be aware that he too is in the villainy. The mechanical part of him matters, not his evil passions but his evil designs. We do not see his impulses or feel his motives till they become definite intentions; his soliloquies merely tell us the part he has to play; he is a spectacular villain. Shakespeare unusually treats his minor villains as mere generators of action, but he treats nearly all the characters in *Lear* like this. How far do we see into the hearts of Regan, Goneril, Gloucester, Edgar or even Cordelia?

In the second scene of the Battlefield, Cordelia, Lear and soldiers cross the stage. Edgar enters and leaves Gloucester under a tree. A retreat sounds within. Edgar re-enters, tells that Lear and Cordelia are captured and urges Gloucester off the stage. Edmund comes in with the prisoners. Cordelia is cast down for her father, for herself brave...They go out... Albany, the sisters, Captain and soldiers enter, and things move rapidly. The jealousy of the sisters, Albany's revenging of Gloucester, and Edmund's evil all rise to feverish intensity and end in the death of the evil trio, Edmund, Goneril and Regan. The play gallops to its finish. Edgar tells how Gloucester found the rest he was seeking, and Lear carries on the dead Cordelia, over her to fall in death.

In this last act Shakespeare suddenly shakes himself awake. The play has been running for some time, and not half the artificial action has finished. He becomes flustered, scuttling away what remains hurriedly and without enthusiasm. It is the exit of a belated dream. The tourney formalities ring like a solemn

bell in the dawn, quite different from the tourney glamour of the earliest plays. A wan light glimmers over everything, a sobbing melody sounds through it all, while the emotion that kills Lear runs full like a river in space long after the sun has risen again on the morning. Thus the end of *Lear* leaves its unique impression. In the other tragedies we drop from the clouds of poetry on the mountains of passion as we near the close. When *Lear* comes to its end we step up to the everyday world, feeling as if something had lightened, as if a spring that was squeezed down were now released.

The ending does not satisfy all readers of Shakespeare. They wish that Lear and Cordelia had lived happily ever after. This is due to many things. Considered as incidents in the plot the deaths of Cordelia and of Lear are inartistic, not led up to or provided for beforehand ; they do not fit into a design, they just happen. But the tragic close makes the only possible ending to the drama considered as a thing of the emotions. This tragedy is a dream dreamt in the night, full of monsters. Even the lovely things in it are unearthly ; Cordelia is like a cool-winged angel. We cannot imagine them existing into the morning. If these unhappy beings live on in our imagination, it is in a secluded garden, an *As you like it* unreality only with the moon for its sun. Shakespeare does not send us off into another dream; he takes us safely back to the grey streets. How could Cordelia come with us out into the greyness? It is better that she should die, and pass away in the catastrophe of death which may be no catastrophe to those who go. So in this last act, when a window suddenly opens and the monsters of the night's pessimism drift away, Cordelia and Lear cannot stay. Let them all fade, and not even the tears which gave relief in the dark come with us into the morning

Kent: Oh, let him pass! He hates him
That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer.
Edgar: He is gone indeed.

Gone indeed! As in no other tragedy so hauntingly, we feel as if some one had really died. So we shut the door of the death chamber, and, a little dazed, turn the key.

(*Concluded.*)

KATHARINE M. WILSON

AVE POST SECULA

Ave post secula! Do thus we meet again,
After a parting of ten thousand years,
In which we lived strange lives and loved strange loves, apart
From one another, dear, nor shared our tears?
Ave post secula : Ah : swiftly I knew you,
And, knowing you, felt that you still were mine.
What though the ages had torn us far asunder?
A love, such as ours, is ever divine!
Ave post secula! A swift-fleeting moment
Again may we seize from eternity :
Then the dark grave, from which we leap to new *avatars*;
Parted aeons,—at last, one entity;
Ave post secula!

MARION ISABEL ANGUS

NEPAL'S RELATIONS WITH THE OUTER WORLD[1]

The outside world has a peculiar and long-standing misconception that Nepal is a closed country, a forbidden land and hence its relations with the outer world have been of a meagre nature. That it is more or less a land to which few foreigners and specially Westerners have had any access cannot be denied. But it must be freely and unhesitatingly admitted that the reason of Nepal's keeping its gates shut to outsiders is not any conservatism or orthodoxy, but the ardent patriotism of the Gurkha rulers of the land, who are the descendants of the Rajputs who left Chitor during the Moslem incursions, stands in the way of any foreign agency penetrating into its seclusion. Amidst the Himalayan fastnesses, the Nepalese have escaped the onslaughts of the Moslems and indeed it is the only Hindu country which has never been disturbed, far less subdued by any Musalman power.[2]

The rulers of Nepal have never stood in the way of any scholar or institution wanting to make archaeological or historical investigations in the country and it must be said in fairness to them that they have always rendered every possible assistance and help to both Eastern and Western scholars in making researches into the past history of the land.

The inscriptions of the country dating back to the early days of Buddhism, the stupas in the city of Patan attributed to Emperor Aśoka, the Aśokan Pillar at Buddha's birthplace Rummindei, the numerous temples and shrines dedicated to the deities of the Hindu Pantheon, the images and statues of the Bodhisattvas and other canonised saints of the Buddhistic creed,

[1] My sincerest thanks go to Dr. Probodhchandra Bagchi of the University of Calcutta, Supradipta Manyabar Lt.-General Kaisar Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, K.B.E., Major-General Shanker Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, Manyabar Bada Kazi Marichiman Singh, C.I.E., and Sirdar Harigopal Banerjee, M.A., of Nepal for help or encouragement received during preparation of this monograph.

[2] Kirkpatrick, Nepaul, 1811, p. 185.

bespeak that Nepal stood as the meeting-point of two different religions—Hindu and Buddhistic. The two religions long existed side by side in India without however being as much influenced by each other as they were in Nepal. The Tantric cult predominated here more than in India and served as the common platform for their meeting and partial modification under the stress of strange environments. Thus Guhyeśwari became Prajñā Dharma Devī and Mañjuśrī became Saraswati. The Buddhists retained caste distinctions and even non-Aryan practices got a footing along with the orthodox creed. Prof. Lévi perceived the influence of Tantra on both the sects.[3] Both the Buddhistic and Brahminic Vansavalis testify to its early prevalence in Nepal.

The sharp Aryan features of the ruling classes who derive their origin from the Lunar and Solar dynasties of India, the Mongol-shaped features of the Magars, Gurungs, Bhotes, Limbus and Kirantis, the Sanskritised Pārbatiyā language—the modern *lingua franca* of Nepal—and the Tibetanised dialects spoken by those of Mongolian descent, give us sufficient data to assert that in times past Nepal has been the place where two different civilisations met and influenced each other.

An examination of the facts about the relationship that Nepal had in the past with her neighbours on both sides of the Himalayas is likely to be of great interest to those interested in the history of Greater India as indeed Nepal though politically separated from India is culturally Indian in many respects. The aim and ambition of the present author is a most modest and humble one. He does not propose to discuss dry problems of dates of different dynasties nor would he claim to have formulated some new theory. A reconstruction of the history of the country is a difficult task, though it would no doubt throw a flood of light on the vast unexplored historical facts which are yet hidden in the wombs of antiquity and which would certainly require energy, patience and perseverance. Moreover it requires

[3] Le Nepal, Vol. I, Buddhistic Divinities.

time, leisure, resource and encouragement for the fruition of such an enterprise.

The earliest reference to Nepal in ancient Indian literature is found in the Vedas which mentions the Kirantis.[4] The Mahābhārata mentions the presence of a king of Nepal named Jitadeṣṭi of the Kiranti dynasty at the Kuru-Pāṇḍava War who fell in the fight. Dr. Bühler says that it might have been one of the devices of the old chroniclers to connect royal houses with legendary heroes as in Greece and Rome.[5] Bramhinic Vansavalis place the event of Kirāta and Arjuna in the reign of Yelambo, the last Kiranti king of the Nepal valley, and the next Pambo, they say, joined the Mahābhārata War. The names in the Mahābhārata are different from either and do not tally with any of the names in the Vansavalis. Between Yelambo and Jitadeṣṭi the Vansavalis place some 700 years. The authenticity of the tradition therefore cannot be vouched for. The Mahābhārata, of course, mentions 157 tribes of clans in Hindusthan properly so called and enumerates among others Mallas, Kirātas and Parbatiyas.[6] C. V. Vaidya says, "The list does not contain the name of Nepal which however is found in the Mahabharata in another place. It seems therefore that the list is not an exhaustive one."[7] The Kirātas are definitely mentioned in the Mahābhārata.[8] The Kirātas, Kambojas and Daradas were turbulent tribes to the north of Kashmir.[9] The Kirātas are mentioned by Indian poets like Kalidasa and Bharavi.[10] But the Mahābhārata considered the Kirātas as Mlecchas with the Yavanas and Cinas. The Bṛhatsaṁhita of Varaha Mihira mentions Kirātas and

[4] "The Gurkhas," Brooke Northey and Morris, p. 214, quoting Lévi.

[5] Considerations on the Chronology of Nepal, 1885, in Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji's Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal.

[6] Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. IX.

[7] Epic India, p. 281.

[8] *Ibid*, pp. 183, 286, 482-4.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 296.

[10] *Ibid*, p. 486, Geography of India in Kalidasa.

Cinas who were peoples of the North East.[11] According to the Vansāvalīs the Kirantis were the third ruling family in Nepal, the one just preceding them having been the Ahirs who came from Hindustan. Dr. Bühler thinks that neither the Guptas (the Cowherd dynasty who were the first ruling house) nor the Ahirs had any real existence. But generally speaking these two royal families have been accepted by all historians as to have been in actual existence because they are mentioned by the Vansavalis.

Definite mention of Nepal is found in the Tantras. It is one of the 51 'Pīṭhasthānas' enumerated in 'Tantra Chuḍāmaṇi' in which mention is found of Pataliputra. Perhaps the name is to be found in the Kālikā Purāṇa. It occurs in the 'Śakti Mangal Tantra,' 'Mahāsiddhasāra Tantra,' etc., as a country falling in the division extending from Vindhya to Mahāchina. The date of these Tantras has not yet been definitely ascertained but from mention of ancient names appears to be somewhere in the early B.C.'s about 4th century. The "Yogini Tantra," Paṭala XI, traces the frontier of Kāmrūpa from the mountain Kāñçana in Nepal up to the confluence of Brahmaputra.[12]

The next important event which had an immense influence on the history of Nepal was the birth of Gautamā Buddha in 563 B.C. at Kapilāvastu on the outskirts of Nepal. Buddha's birthplace was Lumbini (now called Rummindei) in the Nepal Terai. The great Reformer is said to have visited the valley in 520 B.C. Dr. Bühler following the Vansavalīs places this visit in king Jitadeṣṭī's time, though his view gives cause for a discrepancy in dates, because this was the same king who according to one chronicle went to the Mahābhārata War. The birth of Buddha and the incidents of the Mahābhārata War are separated by a wide period of time and naturally some doubt arises as to the veracity of the tradition

[11] P. C. Bagchi, "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India," pp. 93-94.
[12] Bagchi, p. 113.

and also the plausibility of Bühler's contention if we accept the legend as real history. Dr. L. A. Waddell in "The Makers of Civilization in Race and History," however, places the Mahābhārata War and the birth of Gautama Buddha near each other and thus synchronizes these events.[13] In that case one version of the Nepalese Vansāvalīs is quite correct. But it would not be strange to think that the visit of Buddha was a mere figment of the imagination of Buddhist mythmakers, though the Nepalese chronicles regard his visit as authentic.

The same thing may be said about the visit of Buddha's disciple Ānanda. But whatever may be the opinion regarding these events, the influence of Buddha left a permanent mark on the people of Nepal. Of the many sacred spots in Nepal associated with the holy name of Buddha the village of Nambuddha about 20 miles from Katmandu is one. Mythology connects Boddhisattva Mañjuśrī with the introduction of Buddhism from China. Mañjuśrī was the earliest civilizer of Nepal from the outside world and many miraculous achievements are attributed to him. It is said that the valley of Nepal, which is supposed by many to have been originally a lake, was drained by him with a swordcut between the Champādevi and the Phulchowk hills near Dakhinkāli. There is a legend that this lake was a pleasure resort of Bāṇāsura's daughter Ushā with whom Aniruddha, Srikrishna's grandson fell in love and secretly married. This Bāṇāsura is mentioned in old Assamese mythology and ruled at Sonitapura (modern Tejpur) in Assam. There are many links between ancient Assam and Nepal and this may be one of the many such ways in which relationship has been devised between the two states. Mañjuśrī later on began to be regarded by the Hindus as Saraswati and by the Buddhists as the lord of power and learning [14] and as Kāmadeva in a commentary of "Nāgaraka-sarvasva," a work on erotics, written by

[13] Pp. 40-41, Tuzac, 192.

[14] Haraprasad Sastri, A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS. in the Darbar Library, Nepal, 1905, p. lxvii "Manjusri Sadhana."

king Jagat Jyotir Malla.[15] There is another story which says that Sākya Singha Buddha came to Nepal with thirteen hundred mendicants and they must have preached the gospel of the Sage with all their fervour and enthusiasm. Buddha did not stay in Nepal for a long time but his followers settled in the conntry and blended with the people.[16]

An important cultural link between India and Nepal was the visit of Bhadrabāhu, the Jain leader, who retired to Nepal about 312 or 313 B.C. when Chandragupta Maurya was driving out the Nandas from Magadha. It was during a famine which lasted for twelve years that Bhadrabāhu fled from Magadha and undertook a journey to the South. He halted at Ujjain for some time and then proceeded to Śrāvan Belgola in Mysore. He is said to have died in 298 B.C. but about the place of his death there is some difference of opinion. According to the Jain tradition which is accepted by Vincent Smith, he died at Srāvan-Belgola. (Oxford History of India, pp. 75-76.) Another opinion is that he returned to Nepal after twelve years and died there.[17] He was a reputed mathematician and his "Saṁhitā" still testifies to his vast learning and scholarship. (Dr. B. B. Dutt, Jain School of Mathematics, Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, June 1929.)

The greatest patron of Buddhism and the monarch whose proselytizing zeal carried the teachings of the Master to distant lands, the Emperor Aśoka, who more than any one else rendered valuable services to the religion of Buddha, is said to be the founder of Lalit Pātan, one of the most famous cities in Nepal and one of its three capitals in the valley. In four corners of the city he built four stupas which remain even to day as monuments of his piety. Six stupas at Devapatan, near Paśupati with a shrine and vihara though no longer standing, testify further to Aśoka's visit.

[15] *Ibid*, pxlv.

[16] Oldfield, Sketches from Nepal, 1830.

[17] Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

Another of his great achievements was the erection of a Pillar at Rummindei marking the place where Buddha was born. Later on this spot became a holy shrine to Hindus as well and animals were sacrificed at the altar here, but Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere prohibited such practices so that they might not wound the feelings of the Buddhist world. The only other known inscription set up by Aśoka in Nepal was the Nagali Sagar inscription. A distinguished authority on the Asokan period thinks that the reason why many inscriptions were not traced is due to the difficulties of deciphering them after several hundred years had elapsed since they were set up. It may be that other relics of the Asokan age in Nepal have thus been lost through the ravages of time. The emperor's daughter, Chorumati, married a Nepalese prince Devapāla, who founded the town of Devapatan. A recent historian says that he was a Buddhist devotee.[18] Vansittart makes an interesting observation on this point. He cites the case of Aśoka's son-in-law as a proof of the existence of Hindus in Nepal in a very far back age.[19] But even before this there were Hindus in Nepal. Arjuna's fight with Mahādeva as Kirāta would show the prevalence of Shaivism in Nepal in the Mahābhārata epoch which at all events was prior to Aśoka's visit. Pashupati Nath according to Vansāvalīs of both recensions is held to be coeval with Swayambhu and Vansāvalī legends support the view that from very ancient time Hinduism was prevalent in Nepal. The visit of Aśoka took place in the time of King Sthunko of the Kiranti dynasty. According to a local tradition in Nepal the city of Lalit Patan was originally merely Pattan, something like a village founded by a 'Japhu' (cultivator) named Lalit. This may be a mark of local patriotism which surely would like to preserve national traditions rather than allow people from outside with the credit of founding a city. But there is strong historical evidence that Nepal was

[18] Perceval London, Nepal, 1928, Vol. II. p. 211.

[19] The Gurkhas, 1906, p. 64.

included within Aśoka's empire, though the historian candidly adds, "The empire thus defined was not all under the direct Imperial rule. It necessarily comprehended numerous autonomous states, owing more or less obedience or paying some sort of homage to the sovereign power. It also included many wild or half-wild tribes in the hills and forests who cared little for any government, and ordinarily lived their own lives in their own way." [20]

The first archaeological evidence of the relation of Nepal with India, or as a matter of fact the outside world, is found in the Aśoka Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta at Allahabad (340 A.D.), which places Nepal as one of the territories conquered by that mighty Gupta emperor. The "Arthaśāstra" of Kauṭilya mentions a kind of blanket ('kambala') from Nepal which found a ready sale in the markets of India. The Chinese traveller Fahhien visited Rummindei in 406 A.D. as one of the holiest shrines of Buddhism. He did not penetrate into the main valley but returned from the Terais.

Amshuvarman who is mentioned by Hsuan Tsang is one of the most puzzling though outstanding personalities in the earlier history of Nepal. The celebrated Hindu emperor Vikramāditya is said to have come to Nepal during the reign of this king. But historians do not attach much importance to this tradition. Many such legends centre round Vikramāditya's romantic name which had a glamour for story-tellers in India. Doubts have been expressed by some people as to whether Amshuvarman was an independent king or merely a feudal lord. Some of the inscriptions[21] prove that he was a feudal vassal of the King of Nepal, but Jishnu Gupta's inscription styles him as "Mahārājādhirāja." In one of his coins Amshuvarman assumed the title 'Mahārājādhirājasya" and so at least for a time he ascended the throne.[22] In his inscriptions

[20] Vincent Smith, Oxford History of India, pp. 105-6.

[21] Nos. 5, 6, 7. 8 in Dr. Indraji's Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal.

[22] The gradual transition is noted in the chapter on the Coinage of Nepal in Landon's "Nepal."

Amshuvarman uses the Sriharsha samvat.[25] According to Alberuni the Sriharsha era began in 606 or 607 A.D. Bühler thinks that Harshavardhana Silāditya must have exercised a great influence on the political circumstances of the valley. His era was used by many kings of Nepal. (*Cf.* Jayadeva's Inscription, S.S. 153). Cunningham distinctly states that Sriharsha conquered Nepal in 630-35 A.D.[26] Bendall mentions some inscriptions of the Sriharsha samvat.[27] But Prof. Sylvain Lévi[28] offers a new interpretation to the line of "Harsha Charita" on which Bühler bases his arguments. He shows that in this period Nepal was politically detached from Northern India and was more allied to Tibet. The era used by Amshuvarman therefore could not have been that of Harsha. Lévi points out some astronomical difficulties too in accepting the theory of Bühler. He thinks that the starting year of the era used by Amshuvarman was 595 A.D.[29] It is interesting to note that the Bengali year also dates near about the same time as the era of Amshuvarman. Vincent Smith belongs to the same school of opinion as Prof. Lévi and regards the theory that Harsha conquered Nepal and introduced his era there as erroneous.[30]

The well-known Tibetan King, Srong-btsan-Gambo (600-663 A.D.) came to Nepal in Amshuvarman's time. He married the daughter of the Nepalese King and she introduced in Tibet the religion of Buddha in 622 A.D. This matrimonial alliance was of far-reaching consequence.[31] She was ultimately canonised as the Green Tara by Lamaism and her husband as Avalokiteswara. The Tibetans first came into contact with the northern Buddhism of Nepal under Gambo's forefather Guyantsan.

[25] *Cf.* Bungmati Inscription, Sriharsha Samvat 34. Devapatana Inscription, S.S. 39

[26] Arch. Reports, Vol. I, p. 260.

[27] *Cf.* S. S. 34, 82, 151,—"Journey of Research in Nepal and Northern India" by Cecil Bendall, 1886.

[28] Le Nepal, Vol. II, p. 145.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145, 154.

[30] Oxford History of India, pp. 175-6.

[31] Landon, Nepal. Vol. I, p. 29.

in the 5th century A.D.[32] For a time during Gambo's reign Tibet's voice was uppermost in Nepalese politics and Tibetan power was in ascendancy at the court of Nepal. After Amshuvarman's death for some time Nepal possibly became a vassal of Tibet under Gambo. Gambo annexed Nepal, defeated the usurper who had dared to occupy the throne vacated by Harsha and occupied Tirhut.[33] The Chinese pilgrim Hiuan Tsang visited Rummindei in 635 A.D. He calls the country "Ni-po-lo."[34]. The first reference to the Katmandu valley is found in his account though he might not have actually visited it. But he speaks of Amshuvarman as lately ruling in Nepal.

From an early period there was a very loose political tie between Nepal and the Celestial Court of China and the relationship was of a diplomatic nature. Nepal in old times served as the connecting link between India and China and for many centuries the main route from India to Tibet and China lay through Nepal. It was by this route that Indian pilgrims and scholars went to China and Tibet to preach the doctrine of Buddhism and Indian culture. It was through Nepal in the early 11th century that Atisha, the famous Indian philosopher and thinker, proceeded to Tibet to be the first ruling priest there. Atisha made a pilgrimage to Swayambhunath in 1040 and then went to meet a sovereign of Nepal far to the west in the territory of Palpa.[35] It was through Nepal in 1661 that Father Grueber and Father Dorville[36] two Jesuit priests came to India from Peking after a stay of two months at Lhasa. In the letters of Grueber edited by Father Kircher we find the first record of a European visit to Nepal. Pratapa Malla was then ruling at Katmandu (called Cadmendu, the capital of Necbal by Grueber) and he welcomed the missionaries warmly. It is stated in one of these letters :

[32] Hutchinson—History of tha World, Vol. IV.
[33] Smith—Oxford History p. 174, on the authority of the Jr. A.O.S.
[34] Cunningham—Ancient Geography of India, pp. 516-17.
[35] Hutchinson's date of Atisha's arrival in Tibet is 1026 A.D.
[36] Albert d' Orville, a Belgian in "Tibet : Past and Present" by Sir Charles Bell, pp. 36-37.

"The king (of Cedmendu) welcomed the fathers very warmly, perhaps because of a telescope, which was up to that time unknown in Necbal, and other mathematical instruments which roused the royal curiosity to such an extent that he wished to keep the fathers with him, and he only allowed them to go after having exacted from them a promise to return. He promised them that when they came back he would build a house for the use of our Order and provide a large annual subsidy, and above all, would permit them to preach the gospel in his State." We shall have occasion to speak later on of Christian missions in Nepal in the 18th century.

In the monasteries of Nepal, Sanskrit texts were translated into Tibetan by Buddhist scholars. We have references to Sanskrit texts being translated into Tibetan in the monasteries of the town of Yambu (the Tibetan name for Katmandu). Some of the names of these monasteries have been preserved. These are Nirābhogavihāra, Thangvihāra, Gauhamvihāra. But unfortunately these monasteries cannot be identified with the modern names.[37] The dissemination of Buddhism across the Himalayas took place from Nepal. This intellectual and religious intercourse familiarised the cultural resources of each country to the other. But times have changed since then and to-day such interchange of scholars and such visits are few and far between. People are not inclined to undertake arduous and hazardous tasks of crossing the Himalayas for a search after antiquated knowledge from countries that are yet veiled in the mist of primitiveness and it is at rare intervals that Saratchandra Das or Kawaguchi or McGovern risks himself on such an enterprise fraught with many dangers. Since the opening of the road to Tibet through the Darjeeling district and *viâ* Gyantse, the Nepalese routes have been practically closed to traffic and are very sparely used. Apart from the loss of a large revenue arising out of taxes on merchandise, a substantial

[37] Cordier—Index du Bstan-hgyur. Vol. I, pp. 4, 16, 27, 31, 50, 56, 62, 77, 83, 84, 99, 100, etc.

importance of the country has suffered through the diversion of the route which originally lay through Nepal to Tibet. This is the view of an authority on Himalayan countries like Sir Charles Bell.

The Hindu religious reformer Sankarāchārya is said to have come to Nepal in the 7th century A.D. and he created a regular horror into the hearts of the Buddhist monks, whose books he seized and burnt. Thus for a time was Buddhism overthrown in Nepal and Hinduism once more restored. Vansittart places this visit in Rudra Deva's time, while Daniel Wright, on the basis of the Vansāvalīs fixes up the time during the reign of king Vrishadevavarman of the Suryavanshi dynasty.[38] Later traditions again assert that the revival of Hinduism was accomplished under a supposed incarnation of Sankarāchārya.

After Harsha's death political affairs were in a vortex. Nepal did not escape the contagion of these unsettled times. King Narendra Deva was for a time a refugee in Tibet and despatched embassies to the court of China. This must have been the beginning of Nepalese missions to China and an interchange of embassies. From the Chinese side also envoys were sent to Nepal. Narendra Deva who was then in power entertained Li I-piao and Wang Hiuen-tse, who came as envoys from China. Li I-piao sent as an envoy by the T'ang dynasty paid a visit also to King Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa during the course of his mission.[39] The Chinese pilgrim Hiuan Tsang also visited this king. The two countries having been very near each other such a visit was certainly natural. In Tantric times there was no doubt an intimate relationship between these two countries which were two of the principal centres of Tantraism. Wang made a second visit in 657. Six years ago Narendra had sent a mission to China. Unfortunately the final record of Wang's travels have been lost. We have to

[38] History of Nepal, Cambridge University Press, 1877.

[39] Bagchi, p. 114.

depend for his quotations upon "Fa-yuan-chu-lin" of the monk Tao-she. The significance of these missions is not far to seek. There began a regular political relationship with China, but it is difficult to ascertain whether it was in the role of a suzerain overlord that China played a part in Nepalese affairs or whether it was merely the acknowledgment of a superior power from the Nepalese side.

Narendra's successor Shivadeva II married the granddaughter of Adityasena, emperor of Magadha. This is clearly stated in the inscription of Jayadeva.[40] Shivadeva II's son, Jayadeva II, married Rajyavati, daughter of Sriharshadeva king of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kosala and descendant of Bhagadatta of Pragjyotishapura who is mentioned in the Mahābhārata.[41] Not long after Shivadeva's reign, Jayāpida, King of Kashmir, tried to conquer Nepal but was ignominiously defeated and imprisoned. Later on he escaped with the help of one of his followers.[42] But we have evidence of other kinds of relations that Nepal had with Kashmir. The "Vinaya" of the Mulasarvāstivāda School, which was written in Kashmir in the early centuries of the Christian era, makes mention of Nepal and of a journey made by Ānanda to that country. The description of the journey shows that the author possessed a real knowledge of that country.[43]

A Rajput prince, Nānyadeva or Nandadeva, from Carnatic, seized the crown of Nepal in 1097 A.D. (the Vansāvalī date is 889 or 890 A.D.). Bendall does not mention the Karnātaki dynasty at all. Tradition connects the arrival of the Newars in the valley of Nepal with the coming of this prince on the similarity of the words "Nairs" and "Newars." The Newar customs however are so different from those of any other class

[40] Inscription, No. 15, dated Sriharsha Samvat 150, para. 13—Dr. Indraji.

[41] Ibid—para. 15th.

[42] Kalhan—Rai Tarangini.

[43] (Lévi—Vol. III, Appendix I, p. 184-5.)

in Nepal and the people are so strictly restricted to the valley that it is not at all improbable that their ancestors might have come from outside. But Vansittart definitely says, "Nepal valley is undoubtedly the home of the Newars" (p. 90).

In 1162, Nepal is mentioned as a vassal of the Chalukyan empire, but this claim is not accepted by modern historians who regard the contention as doubtful. In several other ways connections have been sought to be established between Nepal and Southern India. The first of these was that Dharmadatta, the first legendary king of Nepal came from Kanchi. Then there is the popular belief about the source of the river Godavari being in the valley. Again, in 1326, Nānyadeva's descendant, Harisinghadeva, who is regarded by some historians as belonging to the Ajodhya dynasty, captured Patan, Bhatgaon and Katmandu, but he left the country soon after the death of Sultan Giasuddin Tuglak of Delhi from whose incursions he had fled.[44] Oldfield remarks, "The progress of Muhammadanism in India drove fresh refugees to the Nepalese mountains."

One of the most influential dynasties whose monarchs have left permanent marks on the history of Nepal appeared in the country in the 12th century. They were the Mallas from Kamarupa in Assam who were hereditary landowning classes. The Code of the great lawgiver Manu has given them the rank of "Vrātya" Kshatriyas side by side with the Śākyas and with the Licchavis, who ruled in Nepal from the first to the eighth century A.D.[45] But we have traditional evidence of the existence of the Mallas in the proximity of Nepal in still earlier times. In the Malla district of Kusinara, Buddha died and was visited on his deathbed by the leading Malla families at Ānanda's bidding. Thus we see that they were an important and reputed clan from the earliest times. In the 13th century they established themselves

[44] For Nānyadeva's Genealogical Table refer to Pratapamalla's inscription, No. 18 in Dr. Inraji.

[45] Smith, Early History of India, p. 295.

at Katmandu and Patan and one of their kings, Ānanda Malla founded Bhatgaon. Of the manifold cultural and literary activities of the Malla kings mention will be made in subsequent pages.

There was a Suryavanshi dynasty at Bhatgaon with four kings. Mati Singhadeva of this family received in 1334 from the Emperor of China, Hang Wu, a seal through two emissaries confirming him in office. In this instance the overture came from China and she had taken the initiative. The like was again repeated in 1415 during the reign of Shyamasingha.[46] So in a way the Chinese overlordship was recognised by Nepal. Missions to China were sent in 1390, 1399, 1414, 1418 and the practice was renewed after the Sino-Tibetan-Nepalese War of 1792. The last mission was sent in 1908 and since then it has been discontinued. Smith therefore was not correct in thinking that Nepal sends presents or tribute to the Emperor of China and recognises in a vague way that potentate.[47]

During the reign of Ratnamalla, king of Katmandu, permission was given for the first time to the Mahomedans to reside in Nepal. Bühler made a mistake in thinking that in his reign the Mussalmans attacked the country. The palm-leaf Vansāvalī referred to by him vaguely speaks of such an invasion sometime prior to Jayasthiti Malla. Vansittart is perhaps right in saying that the Mohamedans came as traders. But whatever it might be the Islamic influence has not been of the slightest importance whatsoever in Nepal. The Mahomedan population in Nepal is a minority to be an influential factor, though these people have a tendency to grow in numbers within a short time.

According to Colonel Kirkpatrick, Yakshamalla, who ascended the throne in 1427, conquered Tirhout, Gorkha, Gaya, and Shi-

[46] Wright, p. 180.

[47] Early History of India, p. 380.

gatse in Tibet. But after his demise the territories must have been lost. Mahendramalla is said to have visited Humayun at Delhi and secured from him permission for coining "mohurs" which still remain the principal coinage of Nepal. Vansittart fell into the error that permission was granted by the Chinese emperor. Curiously enough on the Nepalese coins of this period some meaningless Arabic or Persian devices have been found, especially on the coins of some of the successors of Mahendramalla. But this did not mean the acceptance of Mahomedan overlordship. The resemblance seems to be on the surface only and the devices were soon given up. Prof. Lévi throws some doubt on the visit of Mahendra to Humayun. (Vol. II, p. 246.) The word 'mohur' was current before the time of this king and is found in palm-leaf deeds of sale and mortgage, etc. The Indian names of 'Pana,' 'Purāna' were current in the 6th and 7th centuries. Subsequently 'Panapurana,' 'Dramma,' 'Singhanka,' 'Sivanka,' etc., were current for a time. Before Mahendramalla some coins of Mahomedan rulers of Bengal came into currency struck in 'repousse' with Hindu emblems and after him some with Moslem legend and name in rebus and word combined. Vansāvalī chronicles with the tradition of "Dillīswaroba Jagadīswaroba" had introduced the legend of an embassy to Delhi for permission to strike coins as they found those coins with Mahomedan inscriptions current in the country.

The relations between Nepal and Tibet are very old. At first the affinity was on religious grounds, but in Tibet soon Buddhism was mixed up with local cults. There has been all along a profitable business of Nepal with Tibet. In the 17th century Bhimamalla, one of the Kazis of Lakshminarsingh, King of Katmandu and grandson of Mahendramalla, sent business representatives to Tibet and himself went to Lhasa. Later on he became the Nepalese administrator there for looking after the interests of the Nepalese subjects. But somehow or other he fell into disgrace with the king and was killed under his orders.

As has already been noted Father Grueber came to Nepal

in Pratāpamalla's time. In the prayer-inscription of Pratāpamalla (1654) which can be seen in the Durbar Square at Katmandu, there are three European words—"Winter" in English and "Autome" and "L'hivert" in French. During the earlier half of the 17th century the monastery and temple of Swayambhunath which is said to have been built by Mañjuśrī was recognised to be under the authority of Lhasa. Kirkpatrick thinks the sanctity of the place to be anterior to Newar or Khat Bhootia (?) dynasties of Nepal. (P. 150).

A new influence had already entered Nepal which was destined to change the history of the whole country soon. Drabya Sah, a scion of the Rajput family which left Chitor during the Mahomedan invasions of Rajputana, conquered Gorkha, a province of Nepal in 1559. The title of Sah or Shah was conferred upon one of his fore-fathers Jagadevakhan by the Moghul emperor. The Gurkha dynasty, it is stated by Colonel Tod, was founded towards the end of the 12th century by the third son of King Samarsi of Chitor. It is therefore not at all improper to assume that in the 12th century a large number of Brahmins and Rajputs came to western Nepal. These Brahmins began to hinduise the hill-people by giving them sacred threads and assigning castes to them. They also took wives from among the women of the hills. Some of the Chetris were the offsprings of such left-handed marriages.[48] In this way Hindu influence began to spread in Nepal, though according to Hamilton the period of Hindu penetration is uncertain. There is even a tradition that Bhim, one of the Pāndava brothers came to Nepal.[49] Arjuna's visit to the Kirāta country has already been referred to. In Morang, one of the provinces of Nepal, there is a tradition that the Birāta country is no other than some jungles there and a tree is pointed out where the Pāndava brothers during their exile hid their bows, arrows, arms

[48] Brooke Northey and Morris—The Gurkhas, p. 122.

[49] Hamilton—Account of Nepal, 1819, p. 9.

and armours. The popular belief about the "Gogriha" or Cowshed of King Birata of the Mahābhārata fame found an echo in the name of a place called "Gogra" in Morang which was changed to Birātanagar in 1917 under orders of Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere, after it had been visited during a hunting-tour by the Maharaja's third son, Lt.-General Supradipta Manyabar Kaiser Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, K.B.E. But it was with the final conquest of Nepal by the Gurkhas that the Hindu influence began to work in a more definite way. Till then in the valley the Mallas ruled and not until they were ousted was the Hindu influence strongly felt.[50]

Jagat Jyotir Malla, King of Bhatgaon, introduced the Indian corn 'maize' in Nepal. This introduction was strenuously opposed as the people believed that the importation would be attended with misfortune. A parallel story furnished by Sylvain Lévi is that of Hiuan Tsang, the Chinese scholar who lost a cargo of manuscripts and seeds in the Indus on his way to China and the king of Kapisha attributed the loss to Tsang's attempt of taking the seeds.

After Grueber, the next European traveller who refers to Nepal was Tavernier. He speaks of the Raja of "Nupal" as a vassal of the Great Moghul and paying him the tribute of an elephant annually. Tavernier's information was certainly inadequate. The kings of the valley did not appear to have made conquest in the Terai or held Terai lands and so were hardly in a position in Tavernier's time to have sent present or tribute of an elephant. At one time Makawanpur which lies in the Terai was a principality of some repute and had matrimonial alliances with kings of the valley and of Nawakot. The kings of Makwanpur might have sent presents to the Moghul Emperors of an elephant every year. This part of the history of the Nepalese

[50] Of course the Mallas and prior to them the Lichhavis were in the main Sanātanist Hindus. They professed Hinduism, as a matter of state policy patronised Buddhism and in the secret of their hearts were Tāntrics. The Tantra manuscripts in the Library are numerous and several Malla kings edited some of them.

Terai and also that of Simraongarh remains yet to be studied. Tavernier describes the trade-journey from India to Tibet through Nepal *viā* Gorakhpur district.

Sir Clements Markham says that Father Desideri, a Jesuit priest who had made some converts in Lhasa, came to India through Nepal. The Capuchins who were in Lhasa till 1745 set up a branch at Katmandu in 1715, but within a week they had to go to Bhatgaon on account of Brahminical opposition. Father della Penna was in charge at Bhatgaon. From Rome where he had gone for help, he brought with him seven Capuchin missionaries and returned to Lhasa in 1741 after a halt at Bhatgaon. But eventually they were expelled from Tibet and della Penna returning to Patan in 1745, died there in 1747. His works have been irrevocably lost. The same was the case with the treatise upon the religion and customs of Nepal written by Father Constantine d'Ascoli in 1747 and the notes made about Nepal by Father Cassian da Macerata. A few members of the Capuchin Mission at Katmandu were there till 1768. A missionary named Michel Ange of Tabiago saved the life of a brother of Prithwi Narayan during the siege of Kirtipur.

Prithwi Narayan finally conquered Nepal in 1768. But the friendliness of the Gurkhas towards the missionaries soon ended as Prithwi identified Christianity with the policy of the Europeans. He therefore ordered them in 1770 to leave the country and since then the doors of Nepal have been shut against Christianity. Prof. Lévi notes :—

"Considering the sixty years of preaching, of expenses, of voyages between Rome and the Himalayas, the result was at least mediocre. Moreover science gained as little as religion."

The inadequate results of the Capuchin Mission were certainly due to the unintellectual traditions of their Order, though some of them possessed enough missionary bigotry. One of them proudly declared that he had burnt three thousand manuscripts!

JAYANTAKUMAR DASGUPTA.

(To be continued.)

ROBERT BRIDGES

(Late Poet-Laureate)

[*Born October* [1] *23, 1844, died Monday, April 21, 1930.*]

A Short Biographical Notice.

Robert [2] Seymour Bridges was born of a Kentish family at Walmar, being the eighth of the nine children of Mr. I. T. Bridges of St. Nicholas Court, Isle of Thanet (in the North Sea, a district of England).

He was sent in September, 1854 (æt 10), to Eton where he was in residence for nine years and won the distinction of playing in the Field Elevens. Entering at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in October, 1863, he took a medical degree (not exactly, one may think, symbolic of his future greatness as a distinguished poet). What is more important is his "Varsity Blue"—considered, rightly, to be a mark of sturdy character and a set-off as well as complement of scholarly attainments. He laid at College, well and truly, the foundations of his future greatness. In appearance he was a well-known figure who could distinguish himself even in the highest company.

For some time he practised medicine as Consulting Physician at the Children's Hospital, Great Ormonde Street, London (which may remind our readers of Tennyson's Ballads and Other Poems of 1880), and at the Great Northern Hospital.

The first volume of Verse published in 1873 shows that he was already serving another mistress and in 1882 he definitely and finally transferred his allegiance to the Muses of poetry and abandoned medicine. His latest production, the *Religio Medici* of the 20th century, "The Testament of Beauty," published on his 85th birth-day (in October, 1929), if not his earlier successes, amply justifies the choice made.

[1] The latest edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica gives the date as October 25.

[2] The writer acknowledges his indebtedness for biographical details to the Encyclopædia Britannica and the Weekly Times of London (of April 24, 1930, page 530).

The Muses' dance is interpreted as the symbol of an alliance between the fine arts and the sciences. Here is a concrete illustration. The loss of Æsculapius meant in this case a real gain to the "sisters three." From Great Ormonde Street, eastward ho! to the heights of Parnassus! In such conquests the East finds consolation for her subordination in other fields to the West.

He was honoured by Asquith's Government with the Laureateship (after Alfred Austin) in 1913, though he had not yet been well accepted by the public. Popular as a poet he has never been but he had his fit audience though few. His poems appeared since 1873 in small instalments, often privately published or printed in Reviews (as single pieces).

Publications.

1873. First Volume of Verse, followed by two books of poetry in 1879 and 1880. These were re-printed with the addition of Book IV in 1890 and Book V in 1893 or 1894.

1884. Prometheus, the Fire-giver: A Mask in the Greek Manner.

1885. The Growth of Love (Sonnet-sequence of 69 pieces).

Eros and Psyche (a Spenserian romance allegorically presenting the relation of love to the soul).

Nero (historical classical tragedy).

1890. Four Plays—Achilles in Scyros, Palicio, The Return of Ulysses and the Christian Captives.

Other Plays—The Feast of Bacchus, The Humours of the Court and Nero (Part II).

1903. (onward to 1912)—Experiments in Classical Prosody.

1905. Demeter, A Mask. (Written for the Ladies at Somerville College and acted by them at the Inauguration of their new Building in 1904.)

1898-99. Collected Edition in 2 Vols. (C. P.).

1899. New Poems.

1903-1907. Later Poems (in various Reviews).

1912. Poetical Works in one volume (excluding dramas) published by the Oxford University Press (with a fine frontispiece photo of the poet taken in 1912).

1914. October and Other Poems (privately printed at the Aberdeen Press): 18 War-poems added to this group made up the volume of 1920.

In War time Bridges produced a volume of extracts of prose and verse from many writers entitled "The Spirit of Man" with a view "to bring fortitude and peace of mind to his countrymen." This anthology of 1916 gained a wide popularity.

1924. An Anthology entitled "The Chiswell Book of Poetry for use in Schools."

1925 New Verse, mainly written in 1921. Originally appeared in various Reviews. This volume now consists of 4 Parts. The poems are experiments in new English rhythms illustrating the principles of versification enunciated by this great innovator in his Prose Essays on Prosody.

1929 (October). *The Testament of Beauty*—A Poem in Four Books, dedicated to the King G. V. (his great master-piece comparable with the *Prelude* of Wordsworth which will reverse the judgments of his critics or at least considerably modify them). Published by the Clarendon Press (Oxford).

The Four Books of this poem are—Introduction, Selfhood, Breed, and Ethick.

He published a series of Prose Essays on Milton's Prosody, on Criticism of Poetry, on the Necessity of Poetry, on Language and Poetic Diction, Free Verse and Pronunciation. (Written

between 1893 and 1923.) The Essays on Shakespeare and Keats are of real value showing his penetrating acute analysis, logical method of developing his ideas to prove his thesis and his accuracy of expression and charmingly simple and clear style.

Recognition came to the poet-laureate in another form in 1929 when he received the Order of Merit.

All the wonderful energies of a many-sided mind and of a highly cultured representative gentleman of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been utilised and concentrated by a true poetic genius in giving to the world the maturest fruit of his life-long and strenuous activities—scientific, philosophical, artistic, religious—in the shape of a grand poem, his "The Testament of Beauty." Lovers of good poetry are realising from its perusal and appreciative enjoyment what a life dedicated to Art can achieve.

Dr. Bridges passed away, after a short illness; at his 86th year, yet full of vitality and vigour, on Monday, the 21st of April, 1930, at his retired residence, Chilswell House, Boar's Hill, Oxford.

1876 to 1898 was hitherto considered as the period of the poet's full production. "The Testament of Beauty" has sprung a surprise on the world of letters, demanding a revision of estimates made up to 1929 and that in more ways than one. We settled, before reading this poem, that Bridges was chronologically a later Victorian yet in spirit a poet of "The Nineties." This fact is unsettled. Both by date, and spirit and contents, the latest poem is, in the best and most untechnical sense, modern.

General Estimate.

Bridges is remarkable for clarity of vision and sincerity of expression which is often very appropriate too. This trait was with him from the beginning, but it was found in its developed form specially in his poems of 1921—in the *New Verse* volume. Space does not allow us to make quotations. We shall, therefore, only mention "Cheddar Pinks"—so thoroughly English, like Tennyson's

idylls—written in pure and simple words, monosyllabic, as in ll. 1-15, 30-35 and 40; "Kate's Mother," which surpasses Tennyson's skill, is rich in exquisite delineation of English landscape in simple words (ll. 2-26) and contains Landorian vignettes—(suggestive for their homely imagery especially in ll. 104-7 and 128-31).

Similarly, "The College Garden," reminiscent of Arnold and Oxford Life (in ll. 49-52 and 62-76) exemplifies this trait. This piece illustrates, perhaps as no other, how he can, if he chooses, combine into one artistic whole the *splendours* of diction, imagery and melody (*cf.* ll. 13-34) without producing the unpleasant impression of "purple patches." This artist knows, indeed, and has reduced to practice, the principle that the highest art is to conceal all art which Tennyson, as I read him, does not.

Instances of the supremacy of the *intellectul* element are scattered in all his *Shorter Poems* but even his "Prometheus" is intellectual in its general tone as compared with Shelley's poem and more so where he *displays* his detailed knowledge of the classical myths and even of Geography which Shelley did not possess. We may refer to ll. 1005-1021 of his "Prometheus." In *Demeter* we have a *discussion* between mother and daughter of the function of thought and "the old lady" tells the chorus (l. 789) "What I could do to save man was my thought"—but not passion!

Bridges is more reflective, therefore, than introspective. His classical culture, scientific interests, devotion to knowledge, love of Nature and Beauty and democratic ideal and sympathies, regulated and controlled by his aristocratic temper (his affinity herein being with Æschylus, Shakespeare, Milton and Arnold), make his personality highly complex. He may be called *eclectic* according to the view recently propounded by Professor Louis Cazamian in his "Criticism in the Making" (1929). "The Testament of Beauty" is enough to establish this view.

His manner of expression, with a few exceptions here and there, is concrete and sensuous but not always exactly simple.

Sometimes it is simply perfect. But his diction has its idiosyncracy. On purpose, it is now archaic, now exotic. In Professor Grierson's language one may say that it has "virtuosity." But it is a distinguished scholar's deliberate choice. Even then, time alone can reconcile poetry-lovers to such specimens as—azurous, ordinator, self-conscient or conscient, peduncled eye, hermeneutic, organities, philosophic concinnity of Greek art, self-puzzledom of introspection and doubt. Surely all of these *felicitas curiosa* cannot be claimed by admirers for "irresponsible catchwords of live ideas" (l. 602 of Book I, *The Testament of Beauty*). Compounds like snowbillowy, flowerspent are beautiful for their suggestiveness but "God's orrery" or "tottery" does stick in the throat chokingly. Far better (being a move in the right direction) are—wanhope, forwhy, foredoie, inwit. This is a scholar's improvement on Tennyson's commonplace avoidance of the commonplace.

We have in *Demeter* the poet's new idea of the Elect—*viz.*, "brave souls that spent their lives for liberty and truth", which will admit into the exclusive company of saints in "the fair Elysian fields" (and not the Miltonic Heaven) even an arch heretic like Shelley, we suppose (ll. 935-947)! Here the speaker is not the old Mother but the young and youthful Persephone, whose conversion from classicism to romanticism is superbly achieved by our poet by her baptism at the font of the Renaissance. Nay, this is not all. We have next a regular *debate*, between the goddesses, started characteristically, by Persephone with a "*Suppose*,[1] dear mother, etc." (l. 1003), sustained for a long while until the mother not only relieves the anxious girl by implying reconciliation with her (ll. 1095-1100) but the readers too when they find that "Joy and surprise make tempest in my mind." This, we must note, is not expression of emotion at all. It is merely a statement. Poetry suggests (or be it expresses) where prose states. We learn further that the tempest over, "there will be peace" (l. 1097).

One will have to quote practically the best part of the text

[1] Italics mine.

of *The Testament of Beauty* if one is to illustrate from it the dominance of the intellectual note. There is as much of modern science as of Nature and other things (and Nature too scientifically interpreted in poetry after Lucretius, but with the help of Evolution) in Bridges' poetry. Donne or Cowley is not a tenth as intellectual or 'metaphysical.'

Donne's influence is great on Bridges.

His democratic ideas and Nature poetry will require a little elaborate consideration as important topics.

Clarity is dominant but this valuable quality of his poetry does not for obvious reasons, some of which we have mentioned, make the task of studying his mind and art easier. His art is so varied, so complex and has so much change in it and development. A whole section may profitably be devoted to it.

Before "The Testament of Beauty" appeared, he had been considered by good judges as more an artist than a thinker. As I read him, this verdict must go, or at least, be considerably modified. We propose to tackle this vexed question later on, within the limits of our lights and space and time.

His poetry, we claim, in matter and manner, confronts us as a curious blend of classicism and romanticism. These familiar "counters," now worn too thin and smooth for decent currency, cannot be yet avoided unless and until we have substitutes as serviceable from a new mint of modern or *modernist* criticism.

A word of personal explanation.

Let us now define our attitude or "reaction" to Bridges as a poet, judged, of course, from our own individual point of view—good, bad or indifferent.

Our method may not, we are aware, commend itself to pragmatic criticism.

Bridges, first and foremost, seems to stand before us as the richest, maturest, if not the latest, fruit of the Renaissance, taken most comprehensively—the Renaissance, not simply in its beginnings or general spirit and tendency but also in the latest fruition of its potentialities,—of whatever was implicit in it.

The Renaissance, every one knows, was a revival of letters and a movement forward of unhampered scientific enquiry and adventurous discovery as much as of *enjoyment* of life and the world around man—fascinating as romance, half-revealed yet half-mysterious, something yet to be conquered and realised. It was a promise of emancipation all round. While fully assimilating the old classical and much of the mediaeval world (against which, at first, it was rather a protest), it at the same time opened out a limitless vision of a new world—in science, philosophy, literature and art, including in its wide sweep pre-eminently the art of living actually, which, after all, really matters.

Study of the poet's works.

We begin, therefore, with a bare analysis of "The Growth of Love," so full of self-disclosure on the poet's part. We crave the readers' patience too for what looks like a history[1] of English poetry, next introduced with special reference to Bridges. Let us hope we do not deal in "irrelevancies" of criticism.

In this poem Bridges tells us—"*To be myself is all I need*[2]." And he sees "no other scheme but universal love." In Sonnet No. 4 of that sonnet-sequence he refers to Dan Chaucer, mighty Shakespeare, classic Milton, and Shelley[3] 'with liquid music in the word.' No. 7 speaks of the Renaissance treatment of love—

> 'A grace of silence by the Greek unguesst
> That bloom'd to immortalize the Tuscan style.'

His ideal of the constructive process, with reason at the helm, is found in No. 15 and in No. 16 we read—

> "This world is unto God a work of art."

[1] Practically Professor Cazamian calls it "Periodicity in Literature."

[2] Italics mine.

[3] *Cf.*

> "The masters young that fist enthralled me
> Of whom if I should name, whom then but thee,
> Sweet Shelley, or the boy whose book was found
> Thrust in thy bosom on thy body drowned ?"
>
> ["Later Poems," page 369 of Oxf. Edn.]

No. 17 visualizes the city of Dante (Florence) and the next—"mild Giotto first," God-like Buonarroti next, and finally, "Dante, gravest poet, her much-wrong'd son," as in No. VII of "New Verse," ll. 25-34, finally represent Giorgione's art. No. 19 reminds us of Simonides' by the "pictured truth" of poets, "wing'd with bright music and melodious song." We learn (No. 20) that "God's love to win is easy, for He loveth desire's fair attitude." In Donne's metaphysical manner he sums up all poets in a word—"the alphabet of a god's idea."

"Evolution" is glanced at in No. 27 as also in ll. 48-65 of "The Tapestry" in "New Verse."

No. 34 is fervent with the Renaissance attitude to love—absolute surrender to love, emptying oneself in her service. Paganism is mixed with the Miltonic idea of love in No. 35, but the next piece suggests the impression left by his poetry of love on us in the expression—

"My passion falters in my rhyme."

No. 45 indicates the nature of his own age and 48 suggests Sidney, Shakespeare, Shelley and Dante. "In Memoriam" answers to 49, whereas his own poetry is characterized in 51. His classical studies are implied in 53, his love of Beauty and of Love referred to in 56 and 60 and his message of Joy in 65. In 55 and 69 (the last piece) his Lord's Prayer prepares us for what he has, at last, given us in his "Testament of Beauty," which marks a definite advance made by English poetry in the present century upon "In Memoriam," "Pacchiarotto" and "Jocoseria."

The only right method of approach to such a mind and art is indicated in the direction of an attempt to follow the course of English poetry achieved since the Renaissance. That is how we can place overselves in the right attitude to him.

[1] *Cf.* the charming idyllic piece, rivalling Tennyson's Enoch Arden, entitled "Kate's Mother" rich in colour and beauty, full of romance and realism and of sincere love of the common folk in their country-home.

Aspects of the Renaissance which enter into the Poetry of Bridges.

This many-sided movement gave fresh impetus to doubt, challenge, interrogation regarding accepted ideas, Papal authority, dogma. It shifted the final court of appeal (from established institutions and systems) to what is *within each individual*. It started with dauntless courage, self-confidence, and sturdy hope of success on an enterprising quest of the nature, meaning and purpose of life and the universe in which man lives. We may here refer to the Ode on Wonder in the "Prometheus the Firegiver —A Mask in the Greek manner" (1883) of Bridges himself.

Bridges was, briefly, a bold classical revivalist, who thoroughly knew, understood and assimilated that antique culture, and equally an "interrogator," an inventor and innovator. To us he appears to be, more correctly, "the child of different ancestors"[2] and the successor of Spenser, Milton, Donne, even Pope, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, the Pre-Raphaelites, possibly, though not in the direct line of descent, of Arnold, Clough, Tennyson, Browning and Swinburne. We shall presently explain our meaning.

Early English poetry (Chaucer to the Elizabethans) was one of youthful, joyous zest in living and by living to realise, far as experience helps, the *real* nature, meaning and purpose of life. This has to do with Bridges' so-called realism, as it is his own.

As yet poetry was not, strictly, criticism of life—except very remotely and indirectly. It was never didactic. So generally in Bridges; though, as I propose to show, he has a philosophy of life.

Puritan poetry and the later deistic acceptance of the Pseudo-classicists (whose inspiration, if any, never came from Hellas) were a phase of reaction. There was a sombre,

[1] The Greeks were the orginators of liberty of thought and discussion but in the Middle Ages there was a reaction.

[2] Mr. F. E. Brett Young mentions even Surrey.

somewhat grim but very earnest and sublime outlook on life —to be lived under a merciful and good, yet relentlessly exacting, Task-master's eye. Here is the beginning of, not yet very explicit, "criticism." Bridges has been carelessly[1] accused of Puritanism[1] and does show some leaning to Alexander Pope. His indebtedness to Milton was immense and his affinity with him close: Biblical myth, as in Milton, is often combined by him with the classical in his "Prometheus" (ll. 53-61, and 1504-1511) and the Miltonic "pageantry" of proper names adopted (*ibid*, 251-58, ll. 319-22, 922-939, 1077-1103. Ll. 407-11 contain justification of God's ways to man.

The piece "Come Si Quando" in *New Verse* is Miltonic through and through, in form, imagery, simile. In "Poor Poll" we have a reference to his "fanciful experiments" in versification "on the secure bed-rock of Milton's prosody" but the poet grieves that Poll will be absolutely incapable of comprehending it (ll. 76-83).

This English attitude (how different from the French or the Italian) lingered, in a way, down to the days of the noted promulgator of the "clothes-philosophy," considerably modified, no doubt, by the idealism of the German philosophers and the poets of the day.

The application of this trend, significantly changed however, to the "Testament of Beauty" will be indicated later on.

This age of poetry (replacing that of prose) in its importance is comparable to the Elizabethan. Man's potentialities, however, were more grandly revealed than actually realised.

Michael Angelo's Adam, on the Cistine Chapel ceiling, was a right and correct *symbol* of the modern age of man's *eagerness* for more life—"more light." Actual circumstances did not, however, allow the wonderful liberating force of this symbolised renaissance to at once fulfil its rich promise. The world progresses slowly and the march of progress is not

[1] But *cf.* "New Verse": "The College Garden," ll. 1-19, esp.—"he (man) will be good-fellow with Sin."

linear or always a forward step. "Scholarship" was yet "no set science"—as it was to be in the Victorian[1] era. Humanism was in the air—operative—implying and achieving man's emancipation. Intellectual enthusiasm effected diffusion[2] of whatever knowledge there was. Classical learning and literature revived. What is most valuable for us, beauty and joy[3] became distinctly manifested. Poetic expression was set free—to be, however, temporarily shackled after the "Restoration." Every reader of Bridges will see for himself what bearing this aspect of the Renaissance has on him.

The cheaply-despised Puritan Age was at any rate one of strenuous conflict—of a sturdy fight for freedom, in politics, of thought, and of the Press.

But the Restoration, in short, was an age of flippancy in life and letters and the so-called Augustan of self-complacency. How could poetry (except of a sort) be the mistress of the house of prose (brilliant, elegant, charming, terse and correct)?. The Muse preferred to be didactic, satirical, polemical, argumentative. She was for once a vigorous and energetic scold in decent attire, somewhat genteel too, and a persuasive orator. Yet we have here the beginning of *literary art* and with Bridges more than with Tennyson or the Pre-Raphaelites who[4] worshipped Keats, poetry is a rare artistic thing, of which the form is not less important than the matter. In his "Humdrum and Harum-Scarum (Lecture on free verse)" (Essay No. II, Pub. 1922) he unceremoniously and rightly observes "formlessness can have no place in Art," and more besides. In his more ambitious and penetrating "Critical Essay" on Keats (Essay No. IV, Pub. 1895) we read, among other things, of "a lamentable deficiency in Keats' art brought into unusual promi-

[1] *Cf.* Shelley's treatment of classical themes with Bridges' (in the Prometheus poems).

[2] *Cf.* "Prometheus," ll. 1405-1412.

[3] *Cf. Ibid*, 1456-57 and "Growth of Love."

[4] According to Professor Grierson "they are artists, not thinkers," and "their work was to be a further elaboration of "virtuosity." "Modern feeling" is by these "disguised in an antique fashion."

nence by the subject of Endymion." In the concluding part of this essay (Section XII) he says—"There is one (of Keats' qualities), as yet unmentioned, which claims the first place in a general description, and that is the very seal of his poetic birthright, the highest gift of all in poetry, that which sets poetry above the other arts; I mean the power of concentrating all the far-reaching resources of language on one point, so that a single and apparently effortless expression rejoices the aesthetic imagination at the moment when it is most expectant and exacting, and at the same time astonishes the intellect with a new aspect of truth."[1]

Here is something like a *credo* eloquently stated. Possibly intense earnestness of personal conviction makes him overemphatic. Effortless expression many give us may Byrons. Tennyson is admittedly a great artist in poetry but is he effortless? Browning more astonishes the intellect. Blake, Coleridge, Rossetti, give us pictures which do not admit of concentration on one point; for, the brush must give many strokes and that with some effort. Swinburne's effortlessness is a glorious thing but what about the intellect? We have to see how far the description thus given is true of Bridges' own art[2] (exemplified particularly by his "New Verse" volume).

Again, in his Shakespeare Essay (No. I, Pub. 1907) that immortal poet is charged by Bridges with neglect of artistic ideals and his verdict is that the greatest poet and dramatist of the world is not the best artist. The entire essay on Poetic Diction (No. III, Pub: 1923) is an examination of the dislike of modern poets towards traditional forms and conventional words and its effects. "Poetry," he says here, must make a poem, "a work of sheer beauty."

[1] I find it inconvenient to retain the writer's own spelling and his "new symbols" and so stick to "the old dress" of words.

[2] *Cf.* "The Tapestry," ll. 15-18, 19-33; "Kate's Mother," 50-57, 111-116, 120-22; "The College Garden," ll. 62-76.

In the Tragic Hymn on the lot of man (which, by the way, is pessimistic) the Chorus says—

> "And no strength for thee but the thought of duty,
> Nor any solace but the love of beauty."[1]

Shelley's exultant ("plangent," if you like) and thrilling adoration of Beauty is now too well recognised. Keats transformed it into Hellenic (pagan) worship. The Pre-Raphaelites made it their religion—we could claim it for Shelley if only his critics had allowed this atheist any religion! This is not the place for a controversy. Tennyson and Browning are lovers of it—who is not and yet a poet? But their ways are different. They do not subscribe to the articles of the Pre-Raphaelite faith or cult. Bridges, *Eros and Psyche* in its new treatment of a theme which could tempt him to carry, as Keats has occasionally done, sensuousness to the perilous verge of sensualism, is singularly characteristic of his chaste ritual. Yet, he tells us, "Beauty" is "the best of all we know," significantly varying the now too familiar Keatsian dictum. In one of his "Later Poems" (No. 19, page 403) while emphasizing—

> "Man, born to toil, in his labour rejoiceth,"

and sounding the modern note of "Life is toil, and life is good," he concludes with the stirring appeal—

> "Gird on thy sword, O man, thy strength endue,
> In fair desire thine earth-born joy renew.
> Live thou thy life beneath the making sun
> Till Beauty, Truth, and Love in thee are one.
>
> * * * *
>
> Thy work with beauty crown, thy life with love;
> Thy mind with truth uplift to God above:
> For whom all is, from whom was all begun,
> In whom all Beauty, Truth, and Love are one."[2]

[1] Lines 1211-12, page 39, Oxford Edition of Poetical Works.

[2] Section VII, stanzas 1 and 4 of A Hymn of Nature (An Ode written for Music), 1898, p. 407, Oxf. Ed.

We have dwelt at some length on this feature of the Renaissance because of its importance for a study of Bridges.

To return to its other significant features as they became modified and developed in course of time is our next task.

It was at this stage that scientific investigation was seriously undertaken. The intellectual side of man for the time being triumphed over the passionate and the emotional. Nature as a poetic theme was relegated to a subordinate place. Manner of expression became more important than the thought expressed. Imagination suffered eclipse. Intensity gave way to elegance and polish. Vision of higher realities was lost with the loss of enthusiasm and of moral earnestness. The rhyming couplet held sway.

History does not exactly repeat itself. Yet a similar phenomenon, with necessary and recognisable variations, was witnessed once again, roughly speaking, in the 70's of the nineteenth century with the close of the Victorian age. We shall presently show the reaction of Bridges to it.

In the meantime there was the Romantic Revolt against the lifeless and deadening regularity of the second half of the 18th century. Everything (theme, mode of treatment, form, technique) was changed by the Revolutionary era. Imagination and emotion revived, and the subjective note became dominant. Freedom's call made the poetic note strident. Philosophical thought (as distinguished from the old metaphysical) entered into the very life of poetry. In Bridges scientific thought, occasionally too dominant, often takes the place of philosophical.

There was a recrudescence of challenge in Shelley and Byron to be modified by Victorian doubt or divided allegiance to devoutness. Scepticism and unrest in Arnold and Clough were met by the Tennysonian forced restoration of equilibrium through emotional faith at war with intellectual questioning and unsettling of convictions, or by Hardy's apparent pessimism[1]

[1] *Cf.* "Prometheus," Chorus, ll. 1172-1211.

and Browning's sturdy intellectual (or temperamental) optimism. But challenge was not altogether silenced: there was Swinburne as a disciple of Shelley. Besides, he perfected his art and sang mainly of love.

The first half of the century, to which Bridges does not belong but by which he was influenced, restored to English poetry deep introspection (which is emotional), strong and intense passion, exquisite perception of beauty, poetic sensibility, trust in democratic ideals, and enthusiasm for the aspirations of the soul. Many of these elements, it will be seen, along with others, go to the making of the latest production of Bridges —his grand longer poem so full of vigour and of wide intellectual interests and finished in workmanship,—"The Testament of Beauty." "Divine or metaphysical poetry begins with doubt,"[1] but it reaches its culmination in that faith which we notice in the closing sonnet of "Growth of Love."

A new interpretation of man's relation with Nature and a new treatment of myths and legends, mediaeval and classical, are noted achievements of the Romantic Triumph. No wonder that in the decade and a half from 1870 there came into existence, to fill the sterile gap between one era of poetic excellence and another, a group of what has been called "Anglo-classic" poets who were also experimenters in verse. Though in a way his minor contemporaries, they are also his precursors.

Three grand seminal ideas, standing out like prominent peaks, disengaged themselves from the seething turmoil of rebellious thoughts which characterised the age of Wordsworth. Thought, Love, Beauty—as the underlying reality beneath superficial facts and as keys to man's life and the mystery of the world,—became poetically celebrated as objects of man's ideal pursuit. Love and Beauty have a close kinship with Joy. The last Act of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* is a remarkable illustration in poetry of this—perhaps, in the manner of dithyrambic

[1] Herbert Read (p. 62 of Phases of English Poetry).

rhapsody: Blake had before Shelley shown it in his meditative manner, or as some would have it, more imaginatively.[2] If one may speak to-day of poet's messages, the message of Bridges is to be sought for there. He sings, in Shelleyan measure,[1]

> " My soul is drunk with joy, her new desire
> In far forbidden places wanders away.
> Her hopes with free brightcoloured wings of fire
> Upon the gloom of thought
> Are sailing out."
>
> (*Prometheus: Ode in praise of Prometheus, ll. 1456-1460.*)

With Shelley joy is an ecstasy. Another fundamental idea less connected with "pure poetry" was destined to come soon to the forefront. It is that of "law" or order. Considered as harmony behind all discords, law, as Shelley tells us in his Defence of Poetry is intimately associated with art. But law as conceived by Tennyson is a ruling principle deduced from scientific interrogation of actual realities. The age of Bridges is described as that of "interrogation." The Victorian is generally called the age of science. So far as poetry goes, it is more correct to say that science in this age became wedded to imagination—poetry being once for all " the impassioned expression upon the countenance of science." Not only did poetry flourish with new vigour (inspite of Macaulay) side by side with science but of this wedlock was born a keen artistic sense giving rise to a new art technique of poetic realism. There was thus the supremacy of aesthetics,[2] well illustrated by the Pre-Raphaelites (particularly by D. G. Rossetti). Tennyson is great by virtue of his art. Artistic realism is distinctly visible in the utterances of the Chorus in Bridges' "Prometheus," so vividly and beautifully describing with imaginative vigour and appeal the birth of the flame of fire, first bursting out of the sacrificial altar before the

[1] *Cf.* Asia's song, " My soul is an enchanted boat," etc.

[2] Professor Grierson in his very penetrating criticism detects in it " virtuosity."

wondering eyes of Inachus. This chorus responds to Prometheus' Hymn addressed to Fire and is called by the poet himself "a Fire-chorus." We must quote a part of it.

Inachus— "Tis smoke, the smoke of fire.

Semi-chorus—Thick they come and thicker,
Quick arise and quicker,
Higher still and higher.
Their wreaths the wood enfold
—I see a spot of gold.
They spring from a spot of gold,
Red gold, deep among
The leaves; a golden tongue.
O behold, behold,
Dancing tongues of gold,
That leaping aloft flicker,
Higher still and higher.

Inachus— "Tis fire, the flame of fire.

Semi-chorus—The blue smoke overhead
Is turned to angry red.
The fire, the fire, it stirs,
Hark, a crackling sound,
As when all around
Ripened pods of furze
Split in the parching sun
Their dry caps one by one,
And shed their seeds on the ground.
—Ah! what clouds arise
Away! O come away,
The wind-wafted smoke,
Blowing all astray,
Blinds and pricks my eyes.
Ah! I choke, I choke.
* * * *
How they writhe, resist.
Blacken, flake and twist,
Snap in gold and fall.

—See the stars that mount,
Momentary fright
Flitting specks of light
More than eye can count.

* * * *

—Hark, there came a hiss
Like a startled snake
Sliding through the brake.

* * * *

—How the gay flames flicker,
Spurting, dancing, leaping
Quicker yet and quicker,
Higher yet and higher,
—Flaming, flaring, fuming,
Cracking, crackling, creeping,
Hissing and consuming:
Mighty is the fire."[1]

Here is genuine poetry. Yet the imaginative outlook on life took a distinct *intellectual* trend. Rationalism had already come in the previous generation. It operated somewhat negatively—destructively, to aid the liberation of individualism. Rationalistic-critical activity now was replaced by the new intellectual force, more positive.[2] The old hostility to blind faith and unquestioning acceptance continued, but the spirit of challenging interrogation yielded a richer harvest of the idea of progressive growth, not however, as a fascinating dream or a mere vague abstraction. The poetic imagination in co-operation with the scientific, began a reconstruction of which faint hints were not wanting in the last phase of Shelley and in the *Hyperion* of Keats, based on Love and Beauty.

The biological sciences, a new study, gave to the new age its distinctive character. Whatever may now be said in *Man*

[1]. ll 1293-1361 of "Prometheus, the Fire-giver."

[2]. *Cf.* ll. 331-341 of "Prometheus" and contrast the idea with Shelley's fury against the very name of kingship.

and Superman and *Back to Methuselah,* Lyell, Chambers and Darwin marked an important epoch of advance: The first fruits of dazzling scientific discoveries were perplexing. Scepticism and agnosticism vied with faith and belief, pessimism with optimism.[1] Doubt, unrest, searching of the spirit, a sense of temporary defeat and depression, of blankness made the third quarter of the 19th century full of confusion as the Revolutionary spirit had made its first quarter full of tumult. Science, like Rationalism before, in the first flush of glorious achievements arrogantly demanded undisputed sway over the totality of man's life and vision. "Victorian compromise" hastily patched up a truce at any price between overweening science and half-vanquished religion. Tennyson's "In Memoriam" is a sufficient illustration. Doubt vexes Arnold in his "Rugby Chapel." The second phase in Bridges' "Growth of Love" (Sonnets 23 to 0 and 45-46) also gives the same indication though in a different way.

"O weary pilgrims, chanting of your woe
That turn your eyes to all the peaks that shine

* * * *

Until at length your feeble steps and slow
Falter upon the threshold of the shrine,
And your hearts-overburden'd doubt in full
Whether it be Jerusalem or no;
Dishearten'd pilgrims, I am one of you

* * * *

Beneath the lamp of Truth I am found untrue,
And question with the God that I embrace."

[*Sonnet 23.*]

The theory of Evolution is alluded to in Sonnet 27 and the 30th sonnet implies the supremacy of "knowing"; and though in the next sonnet we are informed of the revival of love, love as

[1]. *Cf.* Arthur O'Shaughnessy's "Three Silences," stanza 3.

presented there is too full of dignity and decorum to have any warmth. "Launchèd passion" is more missed than found, as it is found in the poetry of Burns, of Shelley, of Swinburne, nay even Byron. Love is crushed under the weight of "two thousand years'[1] solemnity." "His lyrics are clear as crystal and often as cold." This is a little overstated yet not altogether groundless as a charge against Bridges whose art is faultless to perfection and whose feeling chastened and sincere. So it is held that "he is always serene: feeling is *contained* in his verse rather than expressed by it." This view too is not strictly accurate. Feeling is expressed in many poems but it is so subdued, as, for instance, in the few love poems of Wordsworth. The refined and classical artistic taste of Bridges working on the Wordsworthian model, which appealed to him powerfully, may have effected this change. We may apply to Bridges what he with keen and nice discrimination says in explanation of Hume's "general critical judgement" (of a logical and intuitive mind as he calls it) having been misled by the "fine excess" of Shakespeare[2]. The fine excess of Shelley and the raw excess of Byron produced, perhaps, in such a fastidious and highly cultured artist as Bridges something of a revolt. Arnold too was 'misled' by Shelley's excess which to him was not exactly 'fine.' Tennyson's art did injure his spontaneity of feeling. He too in his own way is cold. Many of his readers feel towards his poetry what his Guinevere felt regarding the faultily faultless Arthur. Opinion in this matter of feeling in Bridges is naturally divided (as between classical and romantic types of criticism). Classical criticism will (very reasonably from its point of view) hold that the lyrical poems

1. A. C. Ward, "Twentieth Century Literature."

"Coldness is experienced in the highest beauty.....where there is great regularity of feature I have often remarked a correspondent regularity in the affections and the conduct" —Landor (as quoted by 'Professor H. J. C. Grierson in his "Lyrical Poetry from Blake to Hardy."

2. Footnote No. 2. page 15, of Essay on the Influence of the Audience on Shakespeare's Drama (Collected Essays, No. I).

of Bridges (when allowed to produce a sober impression) afford readers "delight in the sincerity and simplicity of the feeling, devoid of any suspicion of spasmodic violence." This is an illuminating criticism. No one should question the simplicity and sincerity of the feeling expressed in Bridges' poems like "Elegy" (No. 2, page 227),[1] which begins with a nature background for feeling pure and chastened, but all the same perfectly expressed in

"Yet it was here we walked when ferns were springing,
And through the mossy bank shot bud and blade:—
Here found in summer, when the birds were singing,
A green and pleasant shade.
'Twas here we loved in sunnier day and greener;
And now, in this disconsolate decay,
I come to see her where I most have seen her,
And touch the happier day.

* * * *

So through my heart there winds a track of feeling,
A path of memory that is all her own:
Whereto her phantom beauty ever stealing
Haunts the sad spot alone.

* * *

This is not the right place for detailed comments on this poem yet we do make one or two remarks. Not only the last two lines (with their "phantom" and "haunts") remind us of Wordsworth but the tone of the whole piece is set in the Wordsworthian key and

"I come to see her where I most have seen her— "

well, this is Wordsworth's "prose" verse. Verse sometimes is with that great poet flat prose, though the mature Byron himself disowned the Byron of "English Bards." Somehow

[1] Except in the case of his "New Verse" our references henceforth are to the Poetical Works of Robert Bridges (Oxford University Press, 1914) in 1 vol.

I feel that I am reminded of Arnold's manner too here. But all this, by the way.

Let us turn for a moment to his early production "Prometheus the Firegiver."

The prologue (not so called definitely) itself will serve. Says Prometheus—

> "This variegated ocean-floor of the air,
> The changeful circle of fair land, that lies
> Heaven's dial, sisterly mirror of night and day:
> The wide o'er-wandered plain, this nether world
> My truant haunt is, when from jealous eyes
> I steal, for hither 'tis I steal, and here
> Unseen repair my joy * * "

The unconvinced critic may say this may be feeling, *stated* and not expressed. Let us proceed a step.

> "I watch all toil and tilth, farm, field and fold,
> And taste the mortal joy; since not in heaven
> Among our easeful gods hath facile time
> A touch so keen, to wake such love of life
> As stirs the frail and careful being, who here,
> The king of sorrows, melancholy man,
> Bows at his labour, but in heart erect
> A god stands, nor for any gift of god
> Would barter his immortal-hearted prime.
>
> Could I but win this world from Zeus for mine,
> With not a god to vex my happy rule,
> I would inhabit here and leave high heaven;
> So much I love it and its race of men.
>
> * * * * "

This is Shelley all over *minus* the rush and glow of that poet's thrilling lines. The Shelleyan "King of Sorrows" is there and Mercury in Shelley's poem speaks somewhat in this manner about heaven. Only Bridges is truer to the point of home with his charming "realism."

Feeling is felt by the poet and his readers and it is finely expressed. The Chorus-hymn [1] to Zeus, too long to quote (especially lines 203-214 in Arnold's manner), is full of feeling for old yet ever fresh Hellas which captures something of the very rapture of Shelley's "Hellas." The Renaissance "wonder" expressed by Inachus (ll. 360-69) is full of feeling —only te line 369 tempers it by a scientific note, the characteristic of the new age. Think of the cry of the semi-chorus in line 1443—"O were I a god, but thus to be man!" Or, of another single line only (1473)—"Joy, the joy of flight." Taken out of their context, these quotations are, of course, less effective, yet they should convince. We conclude this topic with a bare reference to the intense lyrical fervour of Scriptural rhapsody which inspires "The Psalm" in "New Verse" (No. VI).

We are not exactly flogging a dead horse for, as our quotation from "Twentieth Century Literature" shows, it seems to be yet much alive.

The real point is to be sought for elsewhere. Feeling is expressed but (to appropriate the poet's own remark slightly changed)—he expresses "distinguishing duly." [2]

The key to this peculiarity is to be found in the advice given to his wife by King Inachus:—

> "Now hush thy fear. See how thou tremblest still.
> Or if thou fear, fear passion; for the freshes
> Of tenderness and motherly love will drown
> The eye of judgement."[3]

We have in a nutshell the whole truth about this new poetry of the age in which imagination and emotion, re-discovered by the Romantics and given a free unrestrained charter to blow even in tumultuous gusts, being wedded to science, had to fore-

[1] Pages 8-10, Oxford Edition of Poetical Works.
[2] Line 1433, page 45, *Ibid.*
[3] Lines 973-76, page 32, Oxf. Ed.

go some of the "privileges" of the perfection of "single blessedness." "Nature had kissed Art" [1] (nature, as understood by the Greeks and not their Roman imitators). Knowledge, vastly advanced, curbs "fine frenzy."

> "The heat of prophecy like a strong wine
> Shameth his reason with exultant speech"[2]

is the observation of the Chorus on Prometheus whose offer of fire to Inachus on condition of his hazarding the wrath of Zeus appears to the too rational and "thought"-ful king to be a sign of madness. That is the attitude of Bridges as an artist of the new age. The long speech of Prometheus to convince Inachus that follows next is for our purpose highly suggestive. It is a long *discussion* with a view to persuade and convince. The appeal is more to the intellect than to the heart. There is much of Shelley, Keats, and the spirit of the Renaissance too in it.

By the way, we point out in this connection that discussion enters largely into "The Testament of Beauty," a poem which does establish also what had hitherto been denied by the critics of Bridges, *viz.*, that he too is a prophet—a seer and not simply a "fashioner." If one feels this to be Pope in 19th century disguise our answer is three-fold. First, we have been trying so far to illustrate the poet's many-sided ancestry because when his poems are imitative it is with the love of great periods of literarure which is characteristic of a poet in Bridges' position," secondly, we have to bear in mind that like Milton he is really ; a great *scholar* possessing the scholar's assimilating power ; and finally, even an out-and-out Romantic rebel's *moral* favour made his "Queen Mab" didactic, occasionally tinged his "Revolt of Islam" with didacticism and appeared transformed into passionate exhortation to mankind in "Promethens Unbound" and "Hellas"—even if not in "Adonais."

The last two quotations from Bridges, with their

[1] Line 309, page 12, *Ibid.*
[2] *Vide* ll. 412-435, pp. 15-16, *Ibid.*

significant bearing on his latest poem raise the question whether he was no "seer" but only a "fashioner" or maker. That question will be taken up at its proper place to decide whether, first, "he must be regarded as a searcher for truth rather than as full prophet"[1] and next if what poetry there is in *The Testament of Beauty* "is swamped in a self-conscious disquisition."[2]

To complete our rapid survey of "the dynamics of literary movements," as a help in establishing his *affinities and contrasts*, and explaining the character and trend of his many-sided activities and of the phases of his growth and also the use made by him of available ideals and models, we next note for a moment the condition of English poetry in the "nineties" of the Nineteenth Century."

The "Anglo-classic" poets of the decade,—like Canon Dixon and Edmund Gosse, with their habit of "grafting modern thought upon the Grecian stock" so fasinating to scholar-poets like Arnold; Miss Robinson, a devotee of the Beautiful (as a Pre-Raphaelite) with her sympathies fixed on the real life of the poor in England or Mrs. Browning with her fondness for treating classical themes aesthetically, or W. Watson reviving the Sonnet sequence vogue—were contemporaries of Bridges, considered by Mr. Stedman as the "chief light of a quaintly esoteric Oxford School." Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Eric Mackay and Michael Field (Misses Bradley and Cooper, aunt and niece) present more contrast with their resonant passion or emotion than resemblance with Bridges. All these classical revivalists were noted, more or less, for a reflective tone, new method (sometimes Italian) of versification, experiments as metrical artists, simplicity of language, restrained and simple diction, pastoral lyricism and new rhythm. One smaller group within the larger even accepted Gautier's "art for art" and a few turned to symbolism and mysticism. Exotic verse-experiments

[1] F. E. Brett Young.

[2] Bridges' Essay on Keats (1895).

in new forms became the vogue from 1875 to 1890. Scholarship, over-intellectuality, technique, nicety—even finesse—threatened to crush poetry or destroy all vitality in it. Romanticism as a revolt against Pope's followers had revived the Hellenic spirit. Shelley and Keats, with less scholarship but more appreciation of the true Hellenic ideal of Beauty, worked out myths, to be followed by Arnold and Swinburne, whose knowledge was more deep and accurate. Tennyson's master was Virgil and not the Greeks. Bridges found inspiration in that fountain-head and revived a truer classicism "the just designs of Greece." Browning, like Donne, dallied with what to them was well-known but appealed little to their readers. But Bridges' method made far-off things of antiquity familiar. Professor Grierson with his unerring eye detects, in all, a "virtuoso" note which is rampant in Lang, Henley, Dobson but from which Tennyson, Rossetti, Morris and Swinburne, according to him, were not free. He beautifully exhibits the exotic character of the new art engaged in exploring older or foreign literature. Housman like Bridges freed this new art from mere "decoration." Prof. Grierson's reference to the flood and ebb tide of Christianity is suggestively happy and may now be used by us with reference to "The Testament of Beauty." It stemmed the tide of "the wave of materialism" or, as he more precisely puts it, Lucretianism.

Bridges too has written about the Boer War but not at all in the brutal manner of the once much-praised "Absent-Minded Beggar." The classic Muse of Bridges is too dignified to sound a blatant note. In him there was a rich blending of the best of classicism that could be revived in a later age with a glorious heritage (as we have attempted to show) from the Renaissance.

Once again after Tennyson, as in the latter part of the so-called Augustan age, "the sound became forced and the notes" not too few but noisy and uncertain, suggesting need and possibility of a fresh revival. The " loss of vision, joy and beauty " was made

good by this wealthy inheritor. Even his "Growth of Love"[1] is sufficient to establish this claim. Some critics of to-day are against the idea of "influences" but Professor Grierson in his illuminating manner shows how artists receive[2] them. Heritage, of course, does not mean loan, so there is no question of borrowings.

Bridges rejuvenated English poetry by fully utilising *actualities* as an artist and his poetry, as all true art, "expresses the ultimate vision of the profoundest being" called the artist, who is "the highest type of man."[3] These actualities comprise the highest products of science and philosophy achieved up to the end of the first quarter of the current century, intensity of vision, avidity for fulness of actual experience, intimate touch with modern life and all its conditions (including claims of the masses of workers), attachment to Mother Earth, prizing of instincts (the subconscious in man) as legitimate means of a higher (spiritual) development, growing seriousness, growing vision and transforming Imagination, and a growing faith in God's mission fulfilled in man and human society.

Out of the varied strivings and conflicts of the whole of the nineteenth century in all spheres of human activity, one principle emerged—a noble endeavour to reconcile all superficial contradictions in a higher synthesis. We have it in what, as I read it, is a philosophical poem of the twentieth century—"The Testament of Beauty." There is something striking in Bridges attitude to the supremacy of Beauty and Love as in Shelley's poetry, over the reflective and meditative Thought of Wordsworth. To speak of philosophy in poetry does not necessarily imply "muddleheadedness." In my essay on Shelley an attempt has been made to show that serious reflective artists make the substance of science and philosophy the materials of poetry.

[1] *Vide* pp. 189, 191, 193, 197, 202, 203, 204, 210, 214, 215, and 225 Oxford, Edition of Poetical Works in 1 vol.

[2] "Lyrical Poetry from Blake to Hardy," pp. 85-90.

[3] Deucalion (To-day and To-morrow Series), p. 89, where Mr. Middleton Murry is quoted.

The critic's function is primarily to rightly react to what finds expression in a poet's art which, again, is true to a profound being's ultimate vision. The artistic instinct, according to the *Testament of Beauty*, in man is transformed from its natural unconscious play in animals into something 'conscient," through Reason, and becomes

> "That ladder of joy whereon
> Slowly climbing at heaven he shall find peace with God."

" No art can flourish that is not alive and growing[1] and it can only grow by invention of new methods or by discovery of new material." This well applies to the *Testament of Beauty*. Mr. Stedman's prophetic suggestion that "some heroic crisis" will bring about a return of poetic vigour into the twentieth century has gained significance to-day. The Great War has at last produced great poetry. Mr. Herbert Read in his penetrating and acute study of " Phases of English Poetry " (page 135) observed—"*The Prelude* is the last English epic, it is the epic of the man of feeling. When modern epic comes to be written it will embody the aspirations of the age, though probably in a most unexpected manner." What a prevision! Yet Mr. Read will have to revise the paragraphs (at pp. 139-41) on the modern poet.

With the actual poem before us it has become easy for all of us to detect a new significance in many poems included in the "New Verse" volume of 1925 (especially the pieces composed in 1921). I shall next address myself to the task of interpreting the previous works of Bridges as containing premonitions or "intimations" of a regular and systematic development leading to his latest interpretation of life and the world in The *Testament of Beauty*. It is curious that this latest piece of Bridges is also significantly suggested by W. B. Nichols' "Prometheus in Piccadilly" (1927) of which Parts IV (The Trumpet of Beauty) and V (The Triumph Of God), at any rate, are to me preludes to Bridges' piece.

(To be continued.)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

[1] Bridges' Essay on Free Verse (1922).

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

It is an excellent practice to commemorate the great dead for by such commemoration we not only keep their memory fresh and all that that memory stands for—high ideals, noble achievements—but hold up examples to strive for, perchance to attain, if not to outshine. In every sphere of human activity we have brilliant pioneers in whose wake we may humbly follow. I have, therefore, always regretted that we do not have more and more of such commemorations. It is now six years since the late Sir Asutosh passed away. But death, instead of dimming, has brightened his memory for we now have a clearer perspective; a surer grasp of things. Contemporary opposition has died away; carping criticism has ceased and a juster, truer, perspective secured. And thus he is to-day a living force, guiding, animating, stimulating our efforts, consecrating our zeal. I never enter the University precincts without feeling a sense of personal touch with him. There his heart lay while living; there his soul rests now that he is no more.

Exactly a century ago at the rumour of trouble in Belgium that keen-witted, sharp-sighted Greville wrote: "In the midst of possibilities so tremendous it is awful to reflect upon the very moderate portion of wisdom and sagacity which is allotted to those by whom our affairs are managed." The indictment is severe but none the less true; true then; truer still to-day. To none of our contemporaries did the gods allot a greater share of wisdom and sagacity in the management of affairs than to Sir Asutosh. In fact his striking note was wisdom and sagacity. Never was anything ill-considered or hastily resolved upon; never was his judgment made except upon deepest and fullest consideration. Every measure that he initiated, every reform that he launched, every step that he took, in fact, everything that he did, he did with wisdom, sagacity, fearlessness,

independence. He was no respecter of persons, for did not Lord Lytton writhe under the lash of his chastisement? Nor would he yield or surrender when *in the right*—Government of India or no Government of India. A born leader of men he united in himself qualities rarely combined in one personality; unflinching courage wedded to cool judgment; endurance beyond the capacity of ordinary mortals; inexhaustible ardour for work and work too of the most meticulous kind; kindness coupled with severity; love conjoined with justice and fairness; charity, meekness, humility, absence of pride or arrogance—what a rare assemblage indeed! Yes! a leader of men and a true patriot—for everything served that one great end—call it nationalism, call it patriotism, call it what you will. There can be no nationalism without a literature; for literature is but a mirror of national life; a repository of national aspirations; an interpreter of national thought. Hence his persevering effort in the creation of a national literature; hence the admission of the Bengalee language into the higher studies of the University. Literature is more imperatively needed than the *Charka* or the cap, for it has explosives of its own and far more effective ones.

Did not Mazzini summon a whole nation to life by the sheer force and thunder of his eloquence? But this is not all. Here we cannot pause aud consider every step that Sir Asutosh took towards the creation of nationalism in India. I shall recall one more instance here. Like a statesman of piercing vision he clearly saw that the only way to usher in a better understanding between the two communities was to organise Islamic Studies on a wider basis in the University of Calcutta. A better understanding and a juster appreciation can only come of a wider outlook, based on the study of each other's history and civilization.

I shall never forget the night I travelled with him from Patna to Calcutta. The train steamed off; we talked for a while; we then put the light out and retired for the night.

But shortly after I found him sitting, seemingly distressed. I went up to him, sat by his side and tried to divert him from his engrossing thought, the illness of his child. I spoke of the study of Islamic History and the necessity of widening its course. I drew his attention to the far-reaching importance of this study from more points of view than one. We find enshrined there, said I, speculations, religious and political, which would do credit to thinkers and publicists of modern times. We find there, too, a spirit of enquiry, fearless of consequences, and a spirit of toleration unattained even to-day. In the domain of Law we observe there *that* judicial independence which the moderns do but mimic. Indeed it is the history of a variegated civilization which drew its support and sustenance from all quarters then within reach.

And last but not least, I continued, there we find that supreme passion for learning which has not been hitherto equalled, much less excelled in the world. Such a history is at once an example and an inspiration. It will bring home the truth to us—as nothing else can—that what the East has done in the past, the East may yet do to-day and to-morrow.

He listened with rapt attention. When I had finished he touched my shoulder and, in his usual curt way said: "Islamic History shall receive its full recognition at the University of Calcutta." Little did I know then that Death was hovering around us intent on wrecking the plans we were so confidently making that night.

I was only giving effect to Sir Asutosh's wish when I suggested at the Faculty of Arts this year that the History of Islam should be introduced as a subject in the B.A. Pass Course. But all my efforts were unavailing. The wisdom of the House was against me and a measure, which might have been of incalculable importance to our future, was strangled at its birth.

Many of us indeed would sigh and say at this crisis, 'Would that he were here again'! Were he here he would

assuredly have moderated the dreams of the idealists ; curbed the passions of the impetuous, reconciled the irreconcilables ; given reason to the unreasoning and, perhaps, shown the path of wisdom, or, at least of good sense, to the Bureaucracy.

Bold, determined, persevering, practical, he never relied on sudden startling effects but on the steady, silent, penetrating, overpowering effects of patience, steadiness, routine and preseverance.

Two qualities in unusual degree he possessed—the quality of wisdom and the quality of courage.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

Reviews

A History of Indian Taxation.—By Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A. (Cal.), D.Sc., (Lond.), of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, pp. 1-541. Published by Macmillan & Co., 1930.

Dr. Banerjea is a well-known Economist in India with a reputation travelling beyond its borders. His first publication, *A Study of Indian Economics*, was a text-book which was brought out some twenty years ago and inspite of innumerable subsequent publications of the same type, holds its first position in the market. All his subsequent publications are based on research work, which except his thesis for the D. Sc. Degree of London, have been produced as the Minto Professor of Economics, the only Professorship in Economics in India which is held on the condition that research shall be done by its incumbent. In the past the history of this famous Chair has been somewhat chequered. Dr. Banerjea is the only incumbent who has amply fulfilled the condition by his research work of a high type and has deservedly earned several re-appointments to the same Chair. In recent years his writings have been prolific. In the last six months he has brought out three books, *viz*, *Indian Finance in the Days of the Company*, *Provincial Finance in India* and *A History of Indian Taxation*. By writing these three books in quick succession he has revealed two things, *viz.*, that he has specialised in the study of Public Finance and that he is the greatest authority on Indian Finance. He has also promised us a book on Local Finance.

The past writings of Dr. Banerjea compel our attention for whatever he writes. He wields a pen that makes even the dry subject of finance read like a book of romance. In this respect he has an undoubted advantage over all his rivals in India. This is not a disparagement of other writers, for in spite of all efforts over a century the fact remains—and it is true everywhere in the world—that foreign language is a handicap both to original ideas and to their requisite expression. Again, Dr. Banerjea's method is scientific, which, in the case of many economic writers in India, is unfortunately not the rule as yet. Finance is intimately connected both with political principles and with political passion. Dr. Banerjea actively participates in politics and he holds a definite type of political opinion with which we may or may not agree. It is no small credit to find that his politics does not promote his writings. Here we meet with the cold and detached attitude of a master of scientific method

even when he is re-creating in detail the controversial atmosphere of the time when the financial laws which he discusses were on the leigslative anvil. Some of these laws in India are still subjects of controversy rousing passions and prejudices. But for facts and economic opinions Dr. Banerjea's book will be eagerly consulted both by the holders of his political views and by those who are his political opponents.

This, however, is not the best thing about his book. It has a more permanent and abiding interest in that it is a scientific and comprehensive study of the important questions of Indian Taxation. Dr. Banerjea is neither the only nor the first writer on this topic, but his book may be taken as the only one which will endure after the dust and storm of the contemporary feud have subsided.

The present book is a voluminous one with nine chapters. The first chapter deals with *Some Features of Indian Taxation*. First, he deals with the objects of taxation in India. The foremost is, of course, the fiscal object to raise revenue which, in the earlier stage, was meant to provide for defence against external aggression, maintenance of internal order and acquisition of fresh territories. It now provides, though inadequately, for sanitation, public works and education. As yet it excludes social reform. Besides fiscal object the author also deals with other objects of taxation, social, economic, moral and political,—*e. g.*, equalising social incomes, encouraging home industries, promotion of morality by restricting the consumption of opium, liquor, etc., imperial preference. The author explains the three categories of the Indian tax-system, namely central, provincial and local. " The extent to which it is desirable to have resort to taxation in any country depends upon two considerations, namely, first the expenditure needed for carrying on the functions of the government, and, second, the taxable capacity of the people." In India the Government expenditure is on the military establishment and civil administration, the former absorbing "an exceedingly large share of the revenues" and the latter being " fixed on a scale far too high for a poor country like India." The taxable capacity is ascertained from the wealth and income but no serious attempt has been made to calculate either of them. The same is the case with incidence of taxation, a question closely connected with taxable capacity. Nor did the tax-system, till very recently, show any conscious regard for the accepted canons of taxation. The effect of taxations depends upon the object of levying taxes. If judiciously applied, the people may find that it, 'returns in a fertilising shower," thus making wealth more fruitful in the public exchequer than in the pockets of the people. This taxation, instead of being a necessary evil, may be a neces-

sary. good. To obtain this result the benefits should be patent to the people and according to their wishes. Also it should be remembered that "taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in their effect from taxes raised in one country and spent in another."

With these sound preliminary remarks the author proceeds, in the next eight chapters, to study license-taxes, income-tax, customs, salt, opium, land revenue, excise and minor taxes. Each of these chapters is very exhaustive. The history is traced from the beginning of such an imposition in the British period and each step has been critically examined. The author has successfully explained the atmosphere of the time by discussing in detail the controversies in the legislature and the changes, with reasons, that were introduced in each Bill as it was before the legislative body. This, we believe, is the first attempt of its kind. Such a procedure is easily open to the charge of superfluous details confusing the issue. But the author has ably introduced a huge mass of details, put in an interesting manner, without ever losing sight of the main bearings of the question in hand. We think that the subject-matter has been instructive by this method, from another stand point. The taxes with which he deals are still important sources of public revenue in India, Some are even now subjects of great, and even acrimonious, controversy. In certain other cases, *e. g.* land revenue, besides legislative sanction there are what may be called pledges given by the Executive. In all such cases the circumstances that gave rise to a particular line of action, the modifications made in the original proposal, the reason for such modifications, the subsequent changes in the light of experience, and the bearings of one tax or imposition in relation to a collateral or subsequent tax or imposition are all very important for the study of the tax system as it is to-day or as it should be in future. An instance in point is the relation between the income-tax and the pledge of the permanent settlement of land revenue in certain parts of India or the assessable rate of income-tax on the earned income of those who derives an income from permanently settled lands. The value of this practical bearing of the subjects dealt with is, we believe, substantially increased by the way in which the author has gone into the details of the history of a tax. The light of past experience is always necessary to understand the present and unfold the future system. This is so more in a live topic like taxation than in any other branch of social science. Thus in financial questions, more probably than in any other sphere of study, do we realise the value of the old philosophic dictum of August Comte that the valuation of progress is from the past, through the present, to the future.

We should point out one important defect of the book, which detracts from its usefulness. The book has no index. It cannot, therefore, be used as a reference book which, from its bulk and authoritative content, it is eminently fitted to be. Nor, as a partial compensation, has it a detailed analysis of Contents. We hope that this defect will be remedied in the next edition.

The get-up of the book is a credit to the printers and its popularity will increase by its attractive appearance. The price is moderate for its volume.

DR. P. BASU,
Principal, Holkar College, Indore,
Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Agra University.

Report and Proceedings of the World Economic Conference, held at Geneva—May 4 to 23rd, 1921, *2 vols.*—Edited by the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations.

The reviewer owes an apology to the editor, the readers of the magazine and the publishers for delaying the review which has been long overdue. My only excuse for this is the voluminous character of the proceedings and my pre-occupation in other lines of study.

Recognising the cardinal fact that without real economic peace an efficacious spirit of internationalism cannot be enforced on the intensely nationalistic modern states of the world, the World Economic Conference organised under the auspices of the League of Nations strove to ascertain the present economic position of the different countries under the main headings of commerce, industry and agriculture and chalk out a line of action which would enable the world to realise the ideal of international life.

The World Economic Conference undoubtedly stimulated real constructive work in the diagnosing of the economic problems, and statement of plans needed to adjust, arrange and rejuvenate the different aspects of the economic life of these 50 nations which participated in the methodically conducted deliberations. It has undoubtedly envisaged a newer ideal and a wider economic urge before the different nations. If the present-day national self-consciousness were to yield to that of international collaboration in the field of economic life the main problem would be solved.

Within the conventional limits of this review, little justice can indeed be done by the reviewer and it is impossible within the limited space to discuss the variety of the questions, and the diversity of theories or to point out how the W. E. Conference could clear the way through the

thicket and chaos of these manifold problems. Actuated with the desirable motive of maximising the prosperity of the world, the different problems have been studied by the assembled representatives in their true international perspective and the object of maximising mutual benefit arising out of international trade has never been forsaken at any particular moment.

Part one presents a general picture of the present world economic situation as gathered from the documentation, collected by the twenty-four nations. The second part of the Conference proceedings is devoted to a discussion of the measures needed to improve the commerce, industry and agriculture of the countries. Liberty of trading, the simplifying of customs tariffs, the restoration of the long-term commercial treaties and the settlement of international disputes by a Permanent Court of International Justice are the main solutions indicated but the public opinion of most countries needs a more thorough understanding of these forces and their real implications before any of the utopian schemes can be carried into execution at present.

Coming to the subject of industry the remedies of economic stabilisation secured through the schemes of the formation of international industrial agreements and the collection of exchange of information through a world-wide Economic Organisation are indeed sane and valuable. Even if nothing material were to evolve out of these endeavours the statistical material which would be embodied in the reports, special studies and reviews on the industrial developments, raw materials and changes in production would alone be worth their weight in gold.

The widespread agricultural depression caused by a dislocation in prices did not escape the attention of this learned body. The useful suggestions recommended by it are the spread of the co-operative movement in credit, and every other walk of the agricultural life of the nations. The enacting of suitable social legislation, the gathering of agricultural statistics with special emphasis on farm accounting and the economic exploitation of the forests by the use of better methods are also essential to secure the economic uplift of the masses.

Considering the present world economic malaise as one arising out of maladjustment, the W. E. Conference recommends the free flow of labour, capital and goods and the publication of reliable information regarding agricultural and industrial production of the different countries. Such are the principles laid down by this epoch-making Conference but a successful application of these depends on the different governments which are

mostly bound down by centuries of tradition. Patient and persevering efforts by the different nations alone would enable them to secure the triumph of these cardinal truths.

The League of Nations has indeed done monumental work in the direction of the economic salvation of the war-weary countries by convening this Conference and spreading far and wide these economic truths. But without an untiring propaganda on its part it is impossible to achieve one-tenth of the task of economic reformation and modern nations will never shed the present-day economic heresies which form a part of their excessive economic nationalism. Mere solace in economic abstractions is of no great importance in these tumultuous days. The League of Nations would have to take up in right earnest the task of creating the spirit of internationalism in place of the present-day nationalism of the countries. Continuous methodical and sympathetic efforts on the part of the economic organisation of the League are needed before any part of the programme can be fulfilled. A co-ordination between the economic efforts of the countries is indeed a very difficult matter. The recognition of the idea of international economic solidarity, which is after all the essence of the League of Nations idea has "to be secured, utilised and properly directed" as President Theunis correctly observes. Without this realisation the world economic commonwealth would be a mere figment of imagination.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Srimadbhagavadgita.—By Babu Harimohan Banerjee, 5/1 Kasi Bose Lane Price Rs. 2. The author in his work has attempted his best to pointout to the world, the cultural process by which to get into the Supreme Soul—the original source from which the Creation begins. Its realization is wrapped up in mystery, and the mysticism cannot be divulged, unless and until a man passes through the process of *Karma* or culture as explained in canto 3 of the book; then to get into the stage of *Gyana*, or a knowledge of the spiritual existence; then to get into the stage of *Karma Saynyasa* or the avoidance of the cultural process (explained in canto 5 of the book; then to get over the stage of *Gyana* and pass to the stage of *Gyan-Bigyan*, or the stage in which the devotee assumes the spiritual character, relinquishing all traits of materialism which he had in connection with the mind. To pass over to the stage of spiritual existence from the material stage is, however, a difficult thing to get across, and the sight of the spiritual plane brings in despondency to the uncultured mind of a thoughtful man, bearing

traits of materialism as explained in the 12th canto of the book. Having insight of the spiritual character, engagement in *Bhakti* Yoga or devotion to the spiritual Being is therefore recommended (see 12th canto of the book); and by such devotion, the devotee passes over the three *Gunas*—*Satya*, *Raja* and *Tama*—the three powers dominating the material world and exercising influence upon the mind of a man. By such devotion the devotee passes over the influence which the mind exercises upon him and thus liberated from all material influences, he comes to the stage of *Mukti* or liberation from all influences which the mind exercises upon him (see canto 18). This is the sum and substance of the contents of the book which the author has explained to the satisfaction of all interested readers. In short, the *yoga* system has been proved to be not an outcome of philosophical thinking, but it is something above philosophy, not to be realized in thoughts, but through actual culture. The book is an allegorical explanation, and in his attempt to explain the Gita, he has, in a way, explained the allegory contained in the entire Mahabharata. We recommend free circulation of the book.

R. S. T.

Ourselves

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee: the Sixth Anniversary

The sixth death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was observed on the 25th of May last in a worthy manner and with a solemnity befitting the occasion by the Calcutta University which was the field of his fame and his glory and to which he had dedicated himself. It takes a strong effort for us to realise that the great man is no more—so fresh in our memory is his presence and so affectionately is his name cherished in our hearts. Yet six long years stand now between him we miss and us that mourn!

As on previous occasions, the white marble bust, so conspicuous on the staircase landing of the Darbhanga Building, was covered with fresh green, beautiful roses, lotuses and lilies and sweet incense was burnt. There were hymns in Sanskrit and suitable Bengali songs, specially composed for the occasion; and the Vice-Chancellor, who took a leading part in the function, after a short prayer read the following speech, all present joining him standing in solemn silence and awe. On every face was visible the loving regard in which the departed soul is still held. The bust was then profusely garlanded.

"It is difficult to realise that six years have passed away since that memorable Sunday afternoon at Patna when Sir Asutosh Mookerjee died. So numerous are the memorials of his greatness, and so strong is the continuing influence of his personality that we can hardly believe that so long a time has passed since we last saw him face to face. In many cases the celebration of an anniversary is a more or less forced commemoration, at which somewhat artificial measures have to be taken to renew the flame of affection and reverence, lest it

should altogether die away. But in this case, I feel that even after the lapse of years the flame burns steadily and brightly and that we are gathered round it through natural and spontaneous disposition towards gratitude.

It is fitting that we should assemble just at this spot, which is, as it were, the centre of the University life which he did so much to foster, which was the scene of his vast labours, his varied schemes and his many triumphs. In this University we must never fail in our gratitude to his memory, and those who have succeeded him in certain of his activities, are most of all conscious of the magnitude of the debt we owe to him. Within these walls we can never allow to be forgotten the devotion with which he gave of his best to the University, sacrificing in her interests—to quote his own words—"all chances of study and researches, and a good part of his health and vitality."

During this past year we have been in the throes of controversy over certain changes within the University, and I cannot but think that most of the changes which the Senate has approved would have had his benediction. He would certainly have wished—as we all wish—that permanence of position should be given to those who are mainly responsible for the teaching work of the University, and he would have desired—as we all do—that sufficient resources should be provided for the honourable maintenance of University activities in general. No memorial would please him more than the development to further usefulness of the schemes which he did so much to initiate, and we hope that such a memorial will not be lacking.

During these intervening years he has been greatly missed, and there has been perhaps no time at which he has been more missed than at the present day. India has need, great need, of leaders such as he was—of those who can combine idealism with practicality, of those who have sufficient imagination to see a way out of present confusions, and strength of purpose to follow the path of their vision. I have no doubt that the

devotion which he showed to the University would have been shown to-day in even wider spheres, to the advantage and upbuilding of the commonwealth. But he showed the way—that the path of enlightenment is the path of progress, and in his devotion to the University he illustrated his fundamental conviction that it is in the education of the people that you lay the foundations of their greatness, and that those who place any obstacle in the way of the activities of the teacher and the pupil are the enemies and not the friends of their nation. He saw also that it was through the ideal aimed at by a University that men might win that detachment from change and that grasp of the permanent which is essential for those who have to guide the destinies of the people amidst the rapid alterations of the external forms of society. He seemed to dwell apart with this thought of the permanence of his beloved University. To quote again from him, "There is some subtle salt or secret that keeps the Universities alive. No human institution is so permanent as a University. Political parties may rise and fall, the influences of men may change, but the Universities go on for ever as seats of truth and power, as free fountains of living waters, as undefiled altars of inviolable truth." His memory in this University will have something of the permanence he desired for the institution itself, and if, amidst the unhappy discords, which, arising from other sources, at present divide men from men, they can find some unity in the thought of a common devotion to their University; the turning of their thoughts in this direction will be in great measure due to the labours and achievements of him whom we commemorate to-day. I proceed to garland his statue, in solemn reverence to his memory and with deepest sympathy for those members of his family to whom his loss means an ever present sorrow."

Professor C. V. Raman :

The University of Glasgow has offered an honorary Doctorate to Sir C. V. Raman, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., Ph.D. (Freiburg), Palit Professor of Physics, Calcutta University.

* * *

Mahendranath Prize and Medal for 1932 offered by the University of Calcutta

Two Prizes of Rs. 1,000 each and two Gold Medals of Rs. 100 each open to competition by all Calcutta University graduates will be awarded in 1932. A candidate may send one essay on any of the seven subjects mentioned below, embodying the results of his original research or investigation.

Candidates shall submit three printed or typewritten copies of the thesis to the Secretary to the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, under a distinguishing motto, not later than the 31st July, 1932, forwarding at the same time, in a separate sealed envelope their names together with the selected motto.

Candidates shall indicate generally in a preface to their thesis, and specially in notes, the sources of information and the extent to which the work of others may have been used, showing specifically the portions of the thesis concerned claimed as original. They shall also state whether the research has been conducted independently, under advice of, or in collaboration with, others, and in what respects the investigation made appears to them to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

The medal shall be awarded publicly to the best writer of the thesis at the Annual Convocation for conferring Degrees, and the name of the successful writer together with the title of the thesis shall be published in the University Calendar and in the local Government Gazette.

The thesis shall be printed and published by the University on such terms and conditions as may be arranged between the writer and the University.

Titles of Subjects.

1. Development and Constitutional Position of the Indian Civil Service.
2. Development of the Indian Judicial System.
3. Reform of the Land Tenure System of Bengal.
4. The Indian States and their Relations to the Paramount Power.
5. Administration and Finance of Local Bodies.
6. The Influence of Western Civilisation on Indian Social Life.
7. The Problem of Minorities in India.

* * *

STIPENDS AND SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

(1) We gratefully announce that the world-famous Zeiss Optical Factory of Jena has offered, through the Deutsche Akademie empowered to select the proper candidate, a scholarship of RM. 200 (two hundred Marks) per month, tenable for one year, to a deserving Indian student of Physics. The choice in the first instance has fallen on Mr. Rameschandra Majumdar, student of Prof. Shaha of Allahabad.

(2) The stipend for agricultural studies in the University of Hohenheim has been awarded to Mr. S. S. Tiravenkata Chari of Madras and (3) the stipend for higher studies in the field of Engineering in the University of Stuttgart to Mr. Phanindra-kumar Mitra of Dacca. As announced three months ago, both these two stipends consist of free tuition.

Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar

Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar of Calcutta University is now in Munich, where he is to lecture at the Technische Hochschule four hours a week in German on Indian industries, commerce and economic legislation with special reference to international business relations. He is also being invited by the Universities, Chambers of Commerce, etc., of other parts of Germany.

We have received also a communication from Prof. B. K. Sarkar, M.A., now in Germany, appealing for co-operation with him in his contemplated book (in German) on "Indian Economic Thought since 1905." The present plan is to make it in the main a bibliographical and partly biographical spade-work. A substantial portion of it is proposed to be in the different *Indian languages*. For further details reference may be made to the Secretary, Post-Graduate Arts Department, Calcutta University.

In this connection we are really glad to record our appreciation of the patriotic efforts of Dr. Taraknath Das, Ph.D., who has been strenuous in his endeavours to institute an "Exchange of Professors" between Calcutta and Munich, through the admirable co-operation so readily offered by the Deutsche Akademie.

It is surely not too much to hope that this generous offer will be appropriately recognised by our University authorities. The movement is pregnant with rich cultural possibilities which no University can to-day afford to overlook.

* * *

Professor Ukil's Address in Munich

Under the auspices of the India Institute of "Die Deutsche Akademie" Prof. Dr. Ukil of Calcutta delivered a lecture on 28th April, 1930, on the Immunity of the Indians from

Lung Tuberculosis which was largely attended by notable German medical men including Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Kerschensteiner and Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Dieudonné. The address of the renowned Indian scholar awakened deep interest in the minds of the German specialists who have worked in the same field. Invitations followed in consequence from the University circle and the Deutsche Akademie organised a small tea-party in honour of Professor Ukil at which, among others, the renowned historian, Professor School of the University of Kiel, was present.

* * *

Mr. Gokuldas De

Dr. Max Walleser, Professor of Indology (Buddhism—Sanskrit and Tibetan) of Heidelberg University, Germany, well-known for his scholarly publications on the Ancient Vedanta, the Bhabru Edict, Madhyamika-Sastra, Pali Canons and allied subjects, and Vice-President and Founder of the Institute for Buddhist Lore and General Editor of Materialien zur Kundo des Buddhismus, has given, in a letter (of February 19, 1930), to the writer his support to the contention of Mr. Gokuldas De, M.A., Lecturer, Pali Department, in his Jataka articles, already published by us, that "the Bodhisattv notion was originally free from the idea of an auterior stage of Buddhahood."

* * *

Report of the D.P.H. Examination, Part I

The number of candidates registered for the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, held in May, 1930, was 22, of whom 18 passed and 4 failed.

* * *

Recognition of a Researcher's Merit

Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A. (First Class), who has been doing research work since September, 1928, under Dr. Ganesh Prasad, Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics, has recently been the recipient of high praise from some distinguished Mathematicians of Europe for his paper "On Some Generalisations of Jensen's Inequality," published in the Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. XXI. Among those who have written to Mr. Mitra are Prof. Harald Bohr of Copenhagen, Prof. Titchmarsh of Liverpool, Prof. Cooper of Sheffield and Prof. Landau of Göttingen.

The following is the copy of the letter received by Mr. Mitra from Prof. Bohr, one of the greatest Mathematicians of the world :—

COPENHAGEN,
2nd April, 1930.

DEAR SIR,

I thank you very much for your paper on generalisations of Jensen's inequality, which I have looked through with great interest. I am sorry that I in the moment cannot give you any definite suggestions and only can encourage you to go on with your interesting investigations.

Your sincerely,

HARALD BOHR.

University of Calcutta

Latest Publications

Present-Day Banking in India, *Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged* by B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A. Royal 8vo. pp. 686+xx.

Kindred Sayings on Buddhism, by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, D.Litt. D/crown 16mo. pp. 108+ix.

Sankhya Conception of Personality, by Mr. A. K. Majumdar, M.A. Royal 8vo, pp. 158+xvi.

Calcutta University Regulations. Demy 8vo, pp. 536+xx. Rs. 3-12.

Asamiya Sahityar Chaneki, Vol. I, Part I, edited by Hemchandra Goswami. Royal 8vo, pp. 355+72. Rs. 8.

Arabic Historians, by Dr. D. S. Margoliouth. Demy 8vo, pp. 160+x. Rs. 2.

Vedanta Paribhasha (*Second Edition*), by Mahamahopadhyay Anantakrishna Sastri. Royal 8vo, pp. 539. Rs. 6.

Bharatiya Madhya-Juge Sadhanar Dhara (A. C. Mookerjee Lectures), by Pandit Kshitimohan Sen, M.A. Demy 8vo, pp. 121+xvi. Rs. 1-8.

Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization, Vol. II, by S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo, pp. 356. Rs. 4-0.

Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. III, Part II, edited by Rai D. C. Sen, Bahadur, D.Litt. Royal 8vo, pp. 544+36.

BOOKS IN THE PRESS IN MAY, 1930.

1. Development of Indian Railways, by Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

2. Descriptive Catalogue of Old Bengali Manuscripts in the University Library, Vol. III, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.

3. History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, by Prof. M. Winternitz, translated into English by Mrs. S. Ketkar.

4. Siddhanta-Sekhara, edited by Pandit Babua Misra, Jyotishacharyya.

5. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XX.

6. Surya-Siddhanta, edited with notes by Mr. Phanindralal Ganguli, M.A., P.R.S.

7. Dynastic History of Northern India, by Dr. Hemchandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

8. Asoka, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.

9. Studies in Indian History, by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), B.Lit. (Oxon.).

10. Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. IV, Part I, edited with Introduction and Notes by Rai Dineschandra Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.

11. Adwaita-Brahma-Siddhi, Part II, edited by Mahamahopadhyay Gurucharan Tarka-Darshantirtha and Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.

12. Calcutta Mathematical Society Commemoration Volume.

13. Collected Geometrical Papers, Part II, by Prof. Syamadas Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

14. Vedanta—Its place as a System of Metaphysics, by Dr. N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D.

15. Mundari-English Dictionary, by Manindrabhusan Bhaduri.

16. University Question Papers for the year 1929.

17. Vaishnav Padavali, edited by Rai Bahadur D. C. Sen, D.Litt. and Rai Bahadur K. N. Mitra, M.A.

18. Manoelda Assampcaos Bengali Grammar, edited by Prof. S. K. Chatterji, D.Lit. (Lond.) and Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.

19. The Pilgrimage of Faith in the World of Modern Thought, by Prof. D. C. Macintosh.

20. Public Administration in India, by Mr. A. K. Ghosh, Barrister-at-Law.

21. Calcutta University Calendar for the year 1930.

22. Theory of Plane Curves, by Dr. S. M. Ganguli, D.Sc.

23. Some Bengal Villages and Economic Survey, by Mr. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., and L. A. Nateson, M.A.

24. Some Aspects of Buddhist Philosophy, by Prof. G. Tucci.

25. Eastern Bengal Ballads, Vol. IV, Part I, with Introduction and Notes, by Rai D. C. Sen Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.

26. Overflow Irrigation in Bengal (Readership Lectures), by Sir William Willcocks.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

(Continued from previous issue.)

I. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

3. OTHER INDIAN VERNACULARS

Typical Selections from Oriya Literature, Vol. I, edited by Bijaychandra Mazumdar, B.L. Royal 8vo. pp. 303. Rs. 11-4.

Do. Vol. II. Royal 8vo. pp. 220. Rs. 11-4.

Do. Vol. III. Royal 8vo. pp. 519. Rs. 11-4.

Rs. **22-8** for the **full set** of 3 Vols.

Asamiya Sahityar Chaneki (Typical Selections from Assamese Literature), compiled by Mr. Hemchandra Goswami, B.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.S., of Assam Civil Service and Editor of "Hema-Kosha."

Vol. I, Contains Selections from Cradle Songs, Pastoral Songs, Bihu Songs and Ballads of Assam, Matras and Aphorisms, Translations of the Puranas and the Ramayanas besides an Introduction in English dealing with the History of the Language and Literature. Royal 8vo. pp. 355+72. Rs. 8-0.

Vol. II, Contains Selections from the fourth and the fifth period.

Part I, *Vaishnava Period,* pp. 420. Royal 8vo. 1924. Rs. 6-0.

Part II, *Vaishnava Period,* pp. 421-830. Royal 8vo. Rs. 6-0.

Part III, *Period of Expansion,* pp. 831-1162, Royal 8vo. Rs. 5-0.

Part IV, *Period of Expansion,* pp. 1163-1499. Royal 8vo. Rs. 5-0.

Vol. III, *Modern Period*—Contains Selections from the last period and a *glossary of archaic words with meanings* will be appended to it.

Part I. pp. 347. Royal 8vo. Rs. 5-0.

Part II. pp. 348-648. Royal 8vo. Rs. 6-0.

Selections from Hindi Literature, compiled by Lala Sita Ram, B.A., Sahityaratna.

Book I—**Bardic Poetry**—Contains extracts from the Prithiraj Rasau of Chand Bardai, the Bisaldev Rasau of Nalha, the Birsingh-Charit of Kesav Das, the Sivaraj Bhushana and the Siva Baoni of Bhushan, the Chhatra Prakash of Gore Lal, the Raj Bilas of Man, the Jang Nama of Muralidhar, the Hamir Rasau of Jodh Raj, the Sujan Charit of Sudan, and the Himmat Bahadur Birdavali of Padmakar. Royal 8vo. pp. 351. Rs. 6-0.

Book II—**The Krishna Cult**—In this book the compiler has given extracts from the writings of the followers of Vallabhacharya including Sur Das and others commonly known as Asht Chhap, Nabhaji, Gokul Nath, the oldest prose writer, and Dhruva Das. These writers have described loves of Krishna and Radha in a religious spirit and have nothing in common with ordinary writers of erotic Poetry. No other book has yet been published in Hindi in which the curious reader may find the hymns of each of the Asht Chhap with notices of the authors. Royal 8vo. pp. 383. Rs. 6-0.

Book III—**Tulsi Das**—Whom Sir George Grierson calls the brightest star in the firmament of Indian Mediæval poetry 'stands unapproached and unapproachable in his niche in the Temple of Fame.' His works in extracts have been set up in a book of their own with an introduction containing a short life of the poet and an account of his various works. Royal 8vo. pp. 291. Rs. 6-0.

Book IV—With a learned Foreword by Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, University of Allahabad. **The Saints**—The extracts given in this book are from the teachings of nineteen great saints including Swami Ramanand, Kabir, Guru Nanak, Guru Teg Bahadur, Guru Govind Singh and Mira Bai. Royal 8vo. pp. 390. Rs. 6-0.

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